Soviet Russia

History, Culture, People

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OTHER TITLES IN THE REGIONAL STUDIES
China-Japan-Korea
The New Africa
Southeast Asia
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The Middle East
The Soviet Union
Latin America

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PREFACE

To many Americans, the word "Communist" carries with it n emotional impact that may be described in the words of the ursery rhyme—"I do not like thee, Doctor Fell, the reasons hy I cannot tell."

Ask yourself or your friends or your parents and relatives ow they feel about the Soviet Union. Winston Churchill once escribed that country as "an enigma." But that was 25 years go; since then scholars have studied, written about and at-mpted to explain the Soviet government and people to us. We re in a better position today to evaluate the country which has ade not only great economic progress, but also significant cientific accomplishments. It exerts great influence over the inds and deeds of more than a billion people in our world. It hallenges the United States for leadership over the remaining illions. It attempts to spread ideas of government and social nd economic forces about which many of us are poorly or nadequately informed. It engages the American people in a cold war" which, as President John F. Kennedy said, "will be ith us for a long time."

What do we know about the Soviet Union? We call it "a ictatorship," in which every aspect of life—industrial, political, ocial, educational, intellectual—is controlled by a relatively mall political party. We call it a "police state" in which there re no civil liberties and individual freedoms; the state is glori-ed at the expense of the individual. We believe that the Soviet eople are told what to do, what to read, what to produce, what o buy, where to work, and at what job.

How true is all this? What is communism? How and why did t come to Russia? If it is so bad, why has it lasted more than ifty years? How do the Soviet people really live under a govern-nent which does their thinking for them?

This book has been written to answer these and many oth
questions. It attempts to relate the geography of the country
its history. It explains, in simple terms, the meaning of co
munism, the operations of the social, economic, and educatio
systems of the Soviet Union. It discusses the foreign policies
the country and its relations with the United States. It is hop
that, after a study of the Soviet Union in class, and your readi
of this book, you will be in a better position to evaluate a
understand the Communist challenge to democratic countries.

Illustrations, charts, photographs and maps have been includ
to enrich your learning. Questions based on each chapter w
test your comprehension. Varied class and individual activiti
provide a broad program of diversified interest. A glossary
terms frequently used in the text is included. The bibliograp
offers sources for additional investigation. All these aids a
offered in the hope that they will enable you, the student,
improve your understanding of the Soviet Union.

—MILTON BELAS

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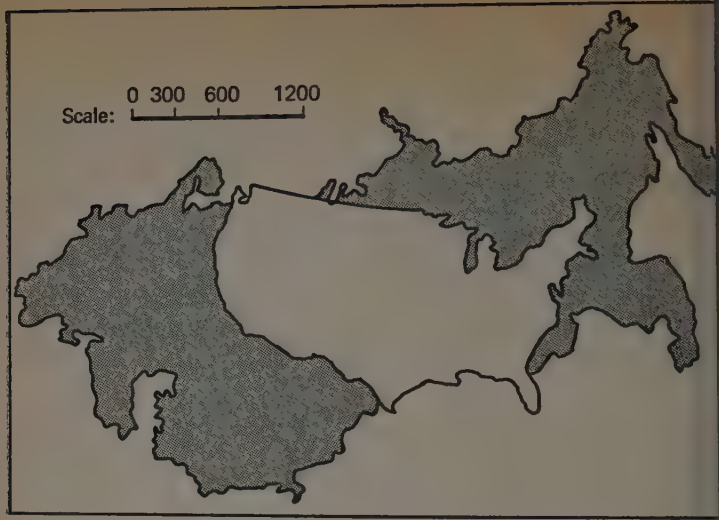
THE LAND AND ITS PEOPLES

The bear that walks like a man" is an expression frequently
d to describe Russia. The bear is the symbol with which that
ntry is most often associated. Yet the name "Russia" is
rrect, if you really are talking about the "Soviet Union" or,
e more accurate, the "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
S.S.R.)." Since 1917, the name "Russia" has applied to only
of these republics, even though it is the largest of the 15
ublics that make up the Soviet Union.

What do the terms "Soviet" and "socialist" mean? "Soviet"
Russian word meaning "council," and had been in use for
y years, long before the Soviet Union was created in 1917.
'socialist" believes in the economic and political theory of
ialism, or government ownership of all the land, factories,
resources of a country.

A. SIZE AND LOCATION

The Soviet Union is the largest country in the world (latitude
°8′N to 77°43′N, longitude 19°39′W to 169°39′W). Cover-
more than 8,500,000 square miles, the Soviet Union is
ger than the United States and Canada combined, or three
es as large as the rest of Europe. In width, it stretches from
Polish frontier on the west for more than 6000 miles across
Eurasian plain to the Pacific Ocean on the east. Though
ly populated, the Soviet Union covers one-sixth of the in-
bited part of the world. Truly, it can be said that "the Soviet
ion is not a country; it is a world." Its huge size provided
portant defense in past wars, for it enabled the Russians,
en invaded, to "trade space for time." (Later on, when you
dy Napoleon's and Hitler's invasions of Russia, note how the
ssians used their land area against the invaders.)



Soviet Union Compared With Continental United States

When you travel from the Pacific Coast of the United Sta to the Atlantic Coast, you pass through three time zones. T means that when it is noon in San Francisco, it is 3 p.m. in N York. In going from the western or European borders of Soviet Union to its Far Eastern Pacific border, you move throu 12 time zones! For example, when it is 6 p.m. in Moscow, i 2 a.m. of the next day in Vladivostok, on the Pacific coast.

The U.S.S.R. is the only country in the world that is spre over two continents, Europe and Asia. Because of this, Soviet Union is both a European and an Asiatic country. Fr north to south, it stretches from the Arctic Ocean to the Bla Sea; from east to west, it extends from the Pacific Ocean to Baltic Sea in Europe.

It is located very much north of the equator. Its most sou ern point is 35° north, and the entire country is farther no than Los Angeles. Leningrad, an important city, is at the 6 parallel; New York City's latitude is 42°.

No fewer than 12 countries are neighbors of the Soviet Uni In the northwest, they are Finland and Norway; on the we

Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Rumania; in the southwest, Turkey and Iran; in the south, Afghanistan and Pakistan; and in the southeast and east, China and the Mongolian People's Republic.

The United States and the Soviet Union are separated by the Bering Strait, from the east cape of Siberia to Alaska, by only 50 miles of water. If the islands that lie between the two countries are included, then they are only 3½ miles apart! That is all that separates Soviet-owned Big Diomede Island from Little Diomede Island, which is American territory. On a clear day, you can easily see Soviet land from American soil.

B. TOPOGRAPHY

Eurasian Plain. Over one-half of the Soviet Union is a great plain (flat for the most part), with very gentle, rolling land. One can walk from Paris to Moscow without being more than 1000 feet above sea level. This great plain (similar to our Western plains, but larger) covers almost all of European Russia and extends eastward to the Yenisei River in central Siberia.

The great Eurasian Plain has been very important to the Soviet Union. Transportation is very easy, because there are no great natural barriers (except distance) to hinder the farmer or traveler. The lack of natural barriers has also created many serious problems. The cold winds from the Arctic sweep southward, and because there are no natural protective features to stop them or slow them down or warm them, they bring very severe weather.

Because there are no natural barriers, either on the east or west, the great Russian plain has been the route for many invading armies. Tatars from Asia, and Poles, Lithuanians, Swedes, French, and Germans from Europe have pushed into Russia, with conquest as their goal. These many invasions, over the centuries, may help to explain the Soviet Union's distrust of foreigners, and its anxiousness to create buffer territories (lands which separate them from their neighbors), and its desire to have secure frontiers.

Topographical map of the Soviet Union.

Between the Ural Mountains and the Yenisei River, the northern part of the Eurasian plain is covered by swamps. This makes the area unsuitable for agriculture and creates serious transportation problems because the rivers frequently overflow their banks.

Mountains. In the Far Eastern section of the Soviet Union, the land becomes more mountainous. Northeastern Siberia has many high mountain ranges such as the Chersky Mountains which average well over 10,000 feet high. Because of the severe climate and the mountainous land, few people live there.

The Ural Mountains divide the Eurasian Plain between the continents of Asia and Europe. However, the Urals are not very high, averaging only 1500 feet, with no peak higher than 5500 feet. They have never protected the country against eastern invaders.

The highest mountains in the Soviet Union are found on the southern borders. The Caucasus Mountains form a boundary between the U.S.S.R., Turkey, and Iran. This chain contains some very tall mountain peaks, such as Shkara and Dykh Tau, both of which are over 17,000 feet high; Kashtan Tau, Dzhangi Tau, and Kazbeh, are over 16,000 feet; and the highest peak in Europe, Mt. Elbrus, is approximately 18,481 feet high.

The Pamir Mountains, which separate the Soviet Union from Afghanistan and Iran, are located in the Turkmen S.S.R. In the lofty Pamirs is found Mt. Communism, 24,590 feet high, the highest peak in the Soviet Union. The Carpathian Mountains are located between European Russia and the Balkan states. In southern Siberia are the Tien Shan and Altai Mountains, which form an effective barrier between the Soviet Union and the Asiatic countries.

C. CLIMATE AND VEGETATION ZONES

What is weather? What is climate? *Weather* is a term that refers to how cold or hot, how wet or dry it is at a given time in the earth's atmosphere. *Climate* is the type of weather a place has over a period of time. Climate is influenced by many factors

Vegetation zones of the Soviet Union.

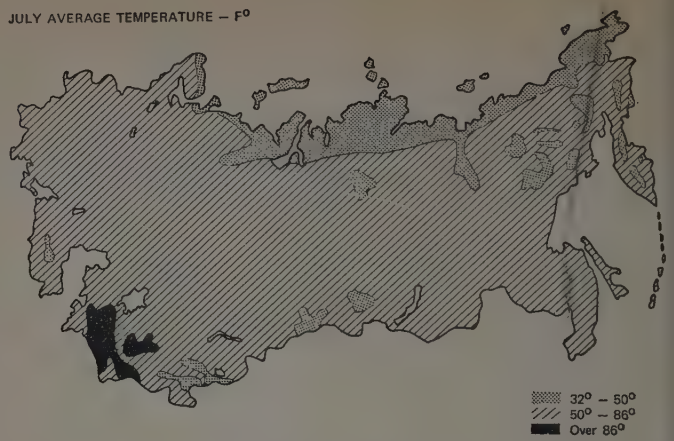
such as the amount of rainfall, nearness to bodies of water, latitude and altitude.

The Soviet Union has, because of its large size, a great variety of climate zones—from the very cold area at the Arctic Circle to the hot, desert regions in the south around the Caspian and Aral seas. The climate and vegetation zones of the Union are virtually the same and they may be divided into five different kinds. These are the tundra, taiga, steppelands, deserts, and Mediterranean.

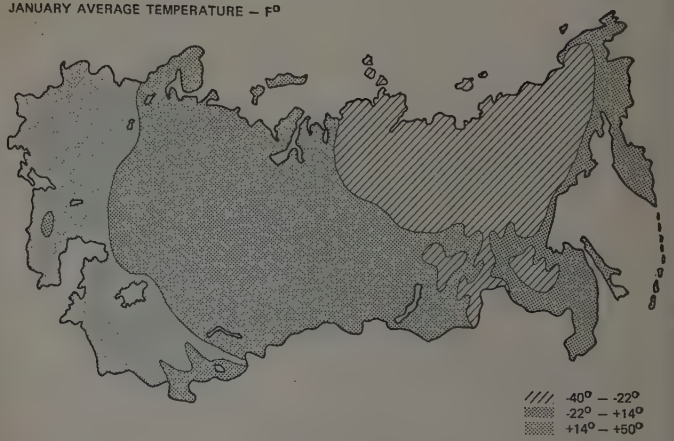
1. The Tundra. This broad belt of climate and natural vegetation is the farthest north, within and around the Arctic Circle. The temperature in this area averages below freezing for eight months or more each year. The ground is frozen all year round (this is called "permafrost") except for a brief period in the summer, when the ground thaws, as far as two feet below the surface. Farming is impossible because of the cold and the poor soil. Mosses, lichens, and small shrubs grow here, but no tall trees, and some flowers and berries appear during the summer months.

In the southern part of the tundra, below the Arctic Circle, small bushes and trees provide some cover for reindeer, lynx, Arctic foxes, bears, squirrels, and rabbits. The few people who live in this area make their living by fishing, hunting, and herding reindeer.

2. The Taiga. Below the tundra is the enormous *taiga* (a Russian word meaning "thick forest") which stretches clear across the entire Soviet Union, in both its European and Asiatic parts. The firs, spruces, and other evergreen trees that cover this vast zone contain about a quarter of the world's supply of timber, and provide much wood for commercial purposes. The climate in the *taiga* is severe and unpredictable; 60° below zero is not unusual in the winter time. In Siberia, the same place may have a temperature of 58° below zero in January and 91° in the summer. Because of the forests, the soil is unsuitable for agriculture, but where the trees have been cut down, such farm crops as rye, oats, and potatoes are raised.



January Average Temperature—F°



July Average Temperature—F°.

3. The Steppes. The third great vegetation zone—the *steppes*—are south of the *taiga*. The *steppes,* which means "plains" in Russian, are often called the grasslands, and they extend from the Ukraine in the southern part of Russia to the borders of China. Summers are dry and warm, and rainfall is from 10 to 20 inches a year. The deep, fertile soil, especially the *chernozen* ("black earth") of the Ukraine, is among the best in the world for farming. In this region, which is mostly level, farmers raise large amounts of wheat, barley, oats, rye, and flax.

In the southwestern part of Russia, tobacco, corn, and sugar beets are also grown. In the Asiatic parts of the grasslands, cattle are raised to provide meat and dairy products. The short grasses in the section are favorable for the raising of cattle, sheep, goats, and horses, but agriculture is not very well suited to this area.

4. The Deserts. Deserts, or semi-deserts, the fourth of the broad belts of the Soviet Union, are found south of the grasslands and extend from the Caspian Sea eastward. There is a scarcity of water, except for run-offs from the mountains, because the monsoon winds of the Indian Ocean cannot pass the Himalaya Mountains, making Central Asia dry. However, the Soviet Union has constructed many irrigation projects to provide water, so millions of acres of land have become good farmland. Cotton and tobacco are raised in large quantities, and mulberry trees are also cultivated to provide leaves for silkworms from which silk is obtained.

5. The Mediterranean Zone. The shores of the Black Sea are like the shores of southern California; both areas enjoy a Mediterranean climate, with short, mild winters and abundant rainfall, and hot, dry summers. The same citrus fruits—oranges and lemons—grow here as in southern California, and figs, grapes, and olives are cultivated.

Because of this climate, the Crimean Peninsula, which extends into the Black Sea, is the great vacation spot of the Soviet Union. People from all over the Union come here to enjoy the warm sun, the beautiful beaches, and the sparkling waters. The government has built many hotels and rest homes here.

Average precipitation.

D. COASTLINE

The Soviet Union has the longest coastline of any country in ıe world—almost 27,000 miles long. But in spite of its length, nly a small part of this coastline is usable. Most of the northern aters of the Soviet Union are frozen a good part of the year or ıey are too shallow and fog-bound to be of much use. The only oviet port on the Arctic coast that is ice-free all year round is Iurmansk. Although this city is only 200 miles south of the rctic Circle, the Gulf currents of the Atlantic Ocean help to eep it open. It is of limited use as a shipping port, however, ecause of the great distances from Murmansk to other parts f the Union. The Soviets have been working for years to break ıe ice jam and keep the waters open along the Arctic coast by sing atomic-powered icebreakers and ships specially built to ıake and maintain a channel through the ice so that Soviet ıips can pass throughout the sub-zero temperatures of winter.

The Pacific Coast is also icebound much of the year. The port f Vladivostok, even though it is at almost the same latitude as ew York City, requires icebreakers in the winter months to eep it open. The almost 5000 miles that separate Vladivostok om Moscow also limit the usefulness of this port. Moreover, s sea lanes are controlled by Japan.

E. WATERWAYS

eas. The Baltic Sea in the northwest and the Black Sea in ıe southwest border on European countries. The Arctic Sea the north, and the Pacific Ocean in the east are the longest retches of water that touch the Soviet Union. In the south, the aspian Sea forms the northern border of the Middle Eastern ountry of Iran.

While the Soviet Union controls its coastline along the Baltic ıd Black seas, where the ports are not closed by ice, they are limited use for other reasons. The exits from these seas are ntrolled by the Scandinavian countries in the north and by urkey in the south. The two most important Soviet ports on

the Baltic are Riga and Leningrad. Ships coming to these tw cities must pass through waters dominated by Norway, Den mark, and Sweden. Far to the south, Odessa on the Black Se is ice-free and has a deep harbor, but the Black Sea is an inlan sea; its exit or entrance is through the Dardanelles, a narro strait completely within the land area of Turkey. Thus, th Soviet Union could be "bottled up" in either of these two wate approaches.

For centuries, Russia has been eagerly seeking a "window t the west," through which it could develop economic links wit Europe. A warm water port, open all year around, has been major objective of Russian foreign policy since the time of Pet the Great in the 18th century. To achieve this objective, he an later rulers unsuccessfully fought the Swedes and Turks. Thi objective may still be regarded as one of the goals of Sovie policy today. The Soviet Union has treaty arrangements wit these neighboring countries that permit its ships to pass throug the Baltic Sea and the Dardanelles, but it is not the same a being in control of these approaches and exits.

It is not surprising that Russia has had no great naval tradi tion nor, until recently, much of a merchant marine or a flee Historically, the push of Russian expansion has been over lan not over water.

The great size of the Soviet Union has created one of it major problems—the need for transportation across its vast dis tances. One of the Soviet Union's most important ways to solv this problem is its far-flung system of waterways.

Rivers. There are over 100,000 rivers in the Soviet Union Most of them are wide—crisscrossing the vast plains, with n rapids or waterfalls to limit their use. They have been of grea value for trading purposes, for population movements, and fo expansion.

In European Russia, many of the rivers flow north, emptyin into the Arctic Ocean. They are of little value because that ocea is frozen most of the year and, therefore, offers few opportun ities for commercial activity. Some of the rivers, like the Dvin and the Neva, flow west into the Baltic Sea. Other major river

flow southward: the 1,420-mile-long Dnieper into the Black Sea, the 2,290-mile-long Volga into the Caspian Sea, and the 1,210-mile-long Don into the Sea of Azov. They are great arteries of trade and commerce.

Three of the four main rivers in Siberia—the Ob and its tributary the Irtysk (3,460 miles long), the Yenisei (2,080 miles long), and the Lena (2,680 miles long)—flow northward into the Arctic Ocean. Thus, they run counter to the flow of east-west trade and commerce and are of limited use. Yet they possess tremendous potential for hydroelectric power. The fourth Siberian river, the Amur (2,700 miles long), flows generally in a northeast direction, serves as a boundary between Siberia and Manchuria, then it flows due north and empties into the Pacific Ocean.

Lakes. The Soviet Union has at least 250,000 lakes. Most of them are very small, and have little use except for limited travel and commerce, but some of them are very large and important. The Caspian Sea (143,550 square miles, and completely inland) is the world's largest lake. The other large lakes in the Union include Lake Baikal (11,780 square miles), Lake Balkhash (6,720 square miles) and Lake Ladoga (6,835 square miles). Numerous smaller lakes dot the eastern area in the north and south.

The Soviet Union is constructing canals to link up the major rivers and seas to provide a continuous flow of river traffic throughout the country. A 63-mile canal joins the Don and Volga rivers. Other canals link the Baltic, White, Caspian, Azov, and Black seas in European Russia.

These waterways provide an important transportation network for the Soviet Union. There are about 80,000 miles of inland waterways that are being used for trade and commerce, and link major cities, even though the cities are located deep in the interior. Thus, Moscow, many hundreds of miles away from the seas that border the Soviet Union, is connected with other cities by a vast network of canals and rivers. Sometimes called the "Port of Five Seas," Moscow is linked to the White, Baltic, Black, Caspian and Azov seas.

F. NATURAL RESOURCES

More important than the size of a country is its supply of natural resources, both mineral and non-mineral. In the modern, industrial age, a nation's strength and power depend upon its coal, iron, oil, aluminum, and other raw materials, as well as its food supply. From this standpoint, the Soviet Union is among the richest countries in the world. The United States is another fortunate country because of its varied and vast supplies of natural resources. However, Americans have been using their supply longer and more intensively than the Soviets have been using their mineral wealth. The Soviets are still discovering new and important sources of oil and natural gas. Their supplies may, therefore, last longer than ours.

Minerals. The mineral deposits of iron ore, manganese, coal, peat, bauxite and phosphates of the Soviet Union are among the largest in the world. This mineral wealth is found not only in European Russia but also in the Urals and Siberia. The full extent of Siberian resources is still unknown, but impressive discoveries have been made. For example, tin deposits have been found and are being actively exploited off the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, in the frozen north, near the east Siberian Sea, and near Deputalzloy. Diamonds are being mined in central Siberia, near Mirny.

For the first 40 years of its existence, the Soviet Union depended upon coal as a major source of power for its railroads, its power plants, and its chemical industry. In recent years, particularly since World War II, the Soviet Union has been developing its oil resources as a power fuel. For a long time, major oil production was centered in the fields of Baku and Grozny in the Caucasus. During World War II, German threats to these fields led geological exploitation teams to discover new sources in the area between the Volga River and the Urals. This "second Baku," as it was called, soon outproduced the old sources of petroleum. As a result, the Soviet Union became the second largest producer of oil in the world, and has been exporting in-

Mineral resources.

creasing quantities to countries in Europe and Asia. Oil explorations have continued, and new deposits have been discovered in Siberia, along the Ob River, and in the deserts of the Marigyshlak Peninsula on the Caspian Sea.

Natural gas production has expanded very rapidly. Today natural gas is being used for power in iron and steel furnaces, and as a chemical raw material. Gas pipelines have been built from gas fields which extend to all parts of the Union. Moscow receives gas from Saratov on the Volga and from the Carpathian Mountains. In 1963, a pipeline was completed from the central Asian fields near Bukhara to the Urals. Other gas transmission lines are being constructed from the Siberian Arctic to Leningrad, the Baltic Republics, and Byelorussia. Today, gas and oil account for 55 per cent of all Soviet fuels.

Water Power. The electric power industry has been making great progress in the Soviet Union. Siberia is regarded as a storehouse of electric power, and in addition to its large coal deposits, its rivers offer great hydroelectric potential. At Bratsk, on the Angara River in Siberia, the Russians have built the world's largest power plant—it has a generating capacity of more than 4 million kilowatts. Grand Coulee in the United States, by comparison, generates 2 million kilowatts. At Krasnoyarsk, on the Yenisei River, the Soviets are building an even larger power dam. From these and other plants will come the cheap electricity to power the many industrial factories now being constructed. Huge turbines and generators are needed for big stations and the high voltage lines for economical long distance transmission.

Siberia is, thus, a vast source of fuels, energy, and other raw materials that can be channeled westward to the economic and population centers of European Russia. All this does not mean that hydroelectric projects have not been built in European Russia. At Kuibyshev and at Volgograd, on the Volga River, there are two large plants, producing some 2,000,000 kilowatts of electricity. The Lenin plant on the Dnieper River is another large generating plant.

A COMPARISON OF MINERAL PRODUCTION

Minerals	*U.S.S.R.*	*U.S.A.*
Bauxite	2*	6
Coal	2	1
Copper	2	1
Gold	2	4
Iron ore	1	2
Lead	1	4
Manganese	1	negligible
Petroleum	2	1
Pig iron	2	1
Silver	5	3
Zinc	3	2

*Rank among nations of the world.

A COMPARISON OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

Product	*U.S.S.R.*	*U.S.A.*
Barley	1*	3
Butter	1	2
Cattle	3	2
Cotton	3	1
Hogs	4	3
Meat	2	1
Milk	1	2
Oats	3	1
Potatoes	1	4
Sheep	2	10
Sugar	1	4
Wheat	1	2
Wool	2	6

*In world position.

Agricultural production.

G. AGRICULTURE

Although it is the biggest country in the world, a large part of the Soviet Union's land is relatively poor for agricultural purposes. Yet fields and forests yield a rich and varied crop of foodstuffs, capable of producing sufficient quantities and varieties of food and fiber crops to feed and clothe its population. One exception was the year 1963, when bad weather conditions and the government's poor farming decisions forced the Soviet Union to buy large quantities of wheat from the United States and Canada to feed its people.

In spite of its impressive position as a food producer, the Soviet Union has faced serious problems in agriculture. (For a discussion of these problems and how the Soviet government is attempting to solve them, turn to Chapter 5, page 127, "The Soviet Economy.")

H. CITIES

Many people think of the Soviet Union as a country of peasant farmers who till the soil and live a simple life in small villages. Yet more than half of its people live in cities. There are six cities with a population of a million or more.

Moscow, the capital of the U.S.S.R., with a population of more than 6½ million people, is located almost in the center of European Russia. It contains Red Square, the Kremlin (offices and residence of the Soviet government), the tomb of Lenin, in addition to many cultural and historical attractions.

Leningrad is the second largest city in the Union. Founded in 1707 by Peter the Great (it was originally called St. Petersburg), it was designed as Russia's "window to the West," and is an important shipping, commercial, and industrial center. Its 3½ million people are proud of their role in World War II, when they withstood a long German siege. Leningrad contains many museums and art galleries, such as the Hermitage. One of the most interesting is the Museum of the Revolution, formerly the Winter Palace of the Russian czars.

Another important city, Kiev, with a population of more than a million, is located in the Soviet Union's richest farming country in the southwest and is the industrial center of this region. Tashkent (the capital of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic), in the southern part of the Soviet desert region, Baku (an important oil center on the Caspian Sea), Kharkov, in the Ukraine, and Gorki on the Volga River all have over a million population; they are important as industrial and political centers. Novosibirsk, in central Siberia, with a million population, is very important as the center for Soviet scientific research.

There are many other large and rapidly growing cities in the Soviet Union. Kuibyshev has been mentioned as the site of a huge power project for its many expanding factories; Volgograd (formerly Stalingrad) was the scene of a very important battle in World War II; Sverdlovsk is an important metallurgical center in the Urals; Khabarovsk, Irkutsk, Kemerovo, Novokuznik and Barnaul are recently developed manufacturing and mining centers in Siberia.

I. SUMMARY

These are important facts to remember:

1. The Soviet Union has great extremes of weather—from tundra cold to desert heat.

2. The greater part of the U.S.S.R. is at the center of a large land mass.

3. The mountains in the southwest and west keep out the moisture-carrying winds from the Indian and Pacific oceans, thus creating large areas of desert or near desert land.

4. The flat nature of the land permits cold winds from the Arctic to sweep as far south as the Black Sea without meeting any obstacles.

5. The Soviet Union, in spite of its huge size, has a smaller proportion of land for agricultural purposes than the United States.

6. The Soviet Union has a tremendous supply of natural resources, and is an important producer of agricultural and fiber

products. It is second only to the United States in manufacturing.

7. Hydroelectric power is being developed rapidly in the Soviet Union for industrial, commercial, and home use.

8. The U.S.S.R. is becoming a nation of urban dwellers, and can no longer be regarded as a country of farms and villages.

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Soviet Socialist Republic	*Capital*	*Area in*[1] *Sq. mi.*	*Population*[2]
Armenian S.S.R.[3]	Erivan	11,306	2,253,000
Azerbaijan S.S.R.	Baku	26,173	3,026,000
Byelorussian S.S.R. (White Russia)	Minsk	80,154	8,744,000
Estonian S.S.R.	Tallinn	17,413	1,294,000
Georgian S.S.R.	Tiflis	26,911	4,611,000
Kazakh S.S.R. (Central Asia)	Alma-Ata	1,064,092	12,413,000
Kirghiz S.S.R. (Central Asia)	Frunze	76,642	2,740,000
Latvian S.S.R.	Riga	24,695	2,285,000
Lithuanian S.S.R.	Vilna	26,173	3,026,000
Moldavian S.S.R.	Kishinev	13,012	3,425,000
Russian S.F.S.R.[4]	Moscow	6,593,391	127,312,000
Tadzhik S.S.R. (Central Asia)	Dushanbe	54,019	2,654,000
Turkmen S.S.R. (Central Asia)	Ashkhabad	188,417	1,971,000
Ukrainian S.S.R.	Kiev	232,046	45,966,000
Uzbek S.S.R. (Central Asia)	Tashkent	158,069	10,896,000

[1]Figures are approximate.

[2]Based on 1967 estimate.

[3]S.S.R. stands for "Soviet Socialist Republic."

[4]S.F.S.R. stands for "Soviet Federal Socialist Republic."

NAME	AGRICULTURE	RESOURCES	PRODUCTS
Armenian S.S.R.	cotton, tobacco	copper, lead	wine, wool, cotton
Azerbaijan S.S.R.	cotton, wheat, fruit, tobacco, tea, sheep	oil, iron ore, barite, zinc, tin, gold, silver, copper, vanadium, molybdenum	iron, steel, cement, fertilizers, synthetic rubber, electrical & chemical equipment
Byelorussian S.S.R.	grain, flax, potatoes		machinery, appliances, steel, textiles, paper, leather, glass, cement
Estonian S.S.R.	dairy products	fish, shale oil, timber	textiles, ships, mining equipment, shale
Georgian S.S.R.	grain, tea, tobacco, fruit, silk	manganese, timber, coal	food, textiles, iron, steel
Kazakh S.S.R.	wheat, camels, sheep, rubber, cotton, rice, fruit	lead, coal, iron, zinc, tin, copper, non-ferrous metals	movies, canned fish
Kirghiz S.S.R.	cattle, rice, tobacco, cotton, sugar, beets	mercury, antimony, uranium	machinery, instruments, chemicals
Latvian S.S.R.	dairy cattle, livestock	timber, peat	rubber, dyes, fertilizers, glassware, heavy, machinery, appliances
Lithuanian S.S.R.	cattle, hogs	peat, timber	electric motors, telephones, radio sets, railroad cars
Moldavian S.S.R.	grains, fruits, vegetables		textiles, food, electrical equipment
Russian S.F.S.R.	grains, potatoes, sugar beets, flax	forests, non-ferrous metals, minerals	steel, oil and gas
Tadzhik S.S.R.	cotton, grain, livestock, silk, sugar cane, fruits	gold, uranium, coal, lead, zinc, silver	hydroelectric power
Turkmen S.S.R.	cotton, grain, cattle, silk, fruit	oil, iodine, sulphur, coal, barite, gypsum, lime, bromine	carpets
Ukrainian S.S.R.	wheat, sugar beets, oil seeds, livestock	coal, iron, oil, manganese	chemicals, dyes, salt
Uzbek S.S.R.	cotton, karakul fur, rice, silk	coal, sulphur, oil, copper	iron, steel, tractors, textiles, automobiles

J. PEOPLES OF THE U.S.S.R.

More than 235 million people live in the Soviet Union, which nakes it the third most populous country in the world. Only Communist China (760 million) and India (500 million) have arger populations; the United States is fourth with a population of 200 million.

Nationalities. A nationality is a group of people who are nited by common origin, language, traditions, and customs. The Soviet Union, like the United States, is made up of many nationalities. We do not know the exact number, but there are s many as 175, maybe more. Soviet policy permits, even proudly encourages, the various nationalities to retain their anguages and customs. In fact, the upper house of the Supreme Soviet, the chief legislative body, is called the "Soviet of Nationalities," and allows representation from the different national groups found in the 15 republics making up the Soviet Union. The main purpose of Soviet policy in dealing with nationalities s to keep them united in the development of a Communist ociety, under the central control of Moscow. In other words, he use of local languages and the development of non-Russian ulture is encouraged, but these must not harm or be contrary o Communist ideas or goals. How does this policy differ from he Americanization program fostered by your school system nd other forms of education?

From the names of the Soviet republics, one can easily identify he major nationalities. The Russian, Lithuanian, Latvian, Armenian, Turkmen, and Estonian S.S.R.'s readily reveal this. We an also locate the major nationalities by geography.

It is said that almost one-third of all Europeans speak a Slavic anguage. The Slavs are a large group of people with a similar anguage and nationality. There are three main groups of Slavs n Europe: (1) The West Slavs, in Poland and Czechoslovakia; 2) the South Slavs in Yugoslavia and Bulgaria; (3) the East lavs in the U.S.S.R.

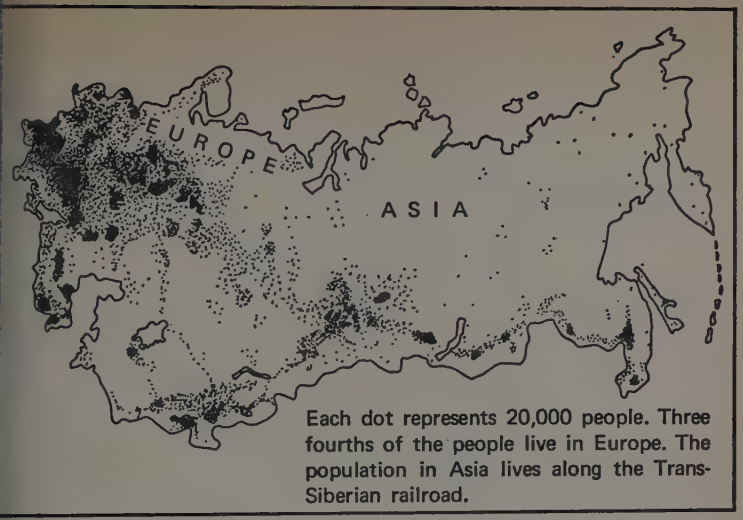
The East Slavs, on the great Eurasian plain, number 75 per ent of the U.S.S.R.'s population. They consist of the Great

Russian, the Ukrainians (called "Little Russians") and th
Byelorussians (called "White Russians"). The languages of thes
East Slaves are quite similar. All are written in the same alpha
bet—the Cyrillic (from St. Cyril, a 9th-century missionary t
the Slavs)—which is different from the European alphabet. Th
cultural heritage and historical traditions of each group are ver
different from each other.

The total population in each republic is greater than that o
the main nationality, for each republic has several nationalities
Some of these republics have "autonomous republics," "autom
omous regions," and "national districts," within their bounda
ries depending on the number of people of a particular languag
or religious group living in the same geographic area. Four o
the republics have twenty autonomous S.S.R.'s, and eight autom
omous regions. The Russian S.F.S.R. has ten national districts
Because it covers 76 per cent of the area and contains mor
than 50 per cent of the total population, it is a "Federal Socialis
Republic," the only one in the Union. It is interesting t
note that the Ukrainian and Byelorussian Republics are in
dividual members of the United Nations; each of these republic
of the Soviet Union has a vote in the United Nations.

West European Borderlands. On the borders between th
East Slavs and the European peoples are the Lithuanian, Lat
vian, and Estonian Soviet Socialist Republics. These people
had been independent at times during the Middle Ages, bu
were conquered by Russians in the 18th and 19th centuries
They regained their independence in 1919, after World War I
only to lose it again in 1940, when they were added to th
Soviet Union.

All three republics have a basically Western European cul
ture. Their languages are written in the Roman alphabet, in
stead of the Cyrillic of the East Slavs. Roman Catholicism an
Lutheranism are the chief religions of their peoples. The Lith
uanian and Latvian languages are related to each other, bu
the Estonian language is more similar to the Finnish than t
any other European language. The people of the Moldavia



Distribution of the Soviet population.

S.S.R., located in the southeastern section of the Union, speak a Rumanian language, but use the Cyrillic alphabet.

The Caucasus Region. In the south central part of European Russia are the Caucasus Mountains. In this area are found the Georgian, Armenian, and Azerbaijan S.S.R.'s.

The people of the Georgian S.S.R. speak a language quite different from Russian; their alphabet is most unlike other European ones. Their culture and history are among the oldest in the world. They are Christians and belong to the Russian Orthodox Church.

The Armenian alphabet and language are also different from the Russian. The Armenians, too, are Christian.

The people of Azerbaijan are not Christians, but Moslems. In language and appearance they resemble the people of the Central Asian Republics.

Central Asian Republics. The five republics in Soviet central Asia are the Uzbek, Turkmen, Kazakh, Kirghiz, and Tadzhik

republics. Most of these people speak a Turkic language except for the Tadzhiks. Their religion and culture are Moslem and are similar to those in other Moslem countries. Most of these people are shepherds or farmers.

Other Groups. There are many Finns living in the Russian S.F.S.R. and in Karelia, an autonomous republic. There are about 3½ million people living in the northeastern part of Karelia and in northern Siberia who are related to the Finns in origin and language. Many of them belong to the Russian Orthodox Church.

Almost three million Jews live in the U.S.S.R., more than in Israel. (Only the United States has more Jews than Russia.) They do not have their own republic because they are scattered all over the country. There is a Jewish Autonomous Region in Eastern Siberia, but few Jews have moved there. It is too far from the European Russian states, such as the Ukraine, Byelorussia, and Moldavia, where most Jews live.

Among the other peoples in the Soviet Union are the Eskimos and Siberian tribesmen who live in the north along the lonely Arctic coast.

Languages. The official language of the Soviet Union is Russian. It is spoken by more than half of the people. The different nationalities are allowed to speak their own language and are even taught it in school, but all children, wherever they go to school, must study Russian. To get ahead, one must be able to speak Russian. Most of the newspapers, magazines, and books are in the Russian language, although there are local and regional periodicals in the native tongues of the region.

Religion. Fifty years of Communist rule have not killed religion in the Soviet Union. Although the official position of the government is anti-religious, the Communists have been unsuccessful in their attempt to eliminate all evidences of the power and influence of the Russian Orthodox Church.

The government officially permits freedom of worship to all its citizens, but tries to discourage them from following a religion. All the schools from the kindergarten to the university

This rich Yakut Eskimo bride is dressed in fur from head to foot. Both she and her horse wear elaborate ornaments of gold.

teach that religion is a superstition that does not belong in a modern scientific world. No church may give religious instruction to any person under eighteen. If an individual wishes to join a church or attend religious services, he is free to do so, but he will find it very difficult, if not impossible, to rise to any high position in Soviet economic, social, or political life.

The Orthodox Church is still a very influential non-Communist force in Soviet Russia. The Patriarch of the Orthodox Church and the Metropolitan are the religious leaders of increasing numbers of followers. It is estimated that there are over 50 million members of the Orthodox Church in the U.S.S.R. today.

Although the Orthodox Church receives no money from the state directly, it does get the land for its churches rent free. Its income comes from voluntary contributions and the sale of prayer candles made in the churches' own workshops. Many churches are being rebuilt and restored, in many instances by state workers, in the spirit of art and history, not of religion. The Orthodox Church supports the "fatherland," even though it may be Communist in ideology.

"Freedom of religion," which is among the rights guaranteed in the Soviet Constitution, is recognized for the many non-Orthodox groups in the Soviet Union. The 30,000,000 Moslems form the second largest religious group in the Union. There are Roman Catholics in Lithuania, Lutherans in Estonia, Georgian Orthodox in Georgia, Armenian Catholics in Armenia, Buddhists and Hindus in the Central Asian republics, and Jews in almost all the Slavic republics and autonomous regions. There are also Protestants in the U.S.S.R.—three and one-half million of whom are members of the Baptist Church.

QUESTIONS AND ACTIVITIES

MULTIPLE CHOICE TEST

In each of the following, you have three choices. Choose the only correct answer.

1. The largest country in the world is *(a)* the United States, *(b)* Communist China, *(c)* Soviet Russia.
2. The climate region nearest the Arctic Circle is the *(a)* tundra, *(b)* taiga, *(c)* steppe.
3. The Soviet Union stretches across *(a)* one, *(b)* two, *(c)* three continents.
4. Little Diomede Island belongs to the United States, and Big Diomede Island belongs to *(a)* the Soviet Union, *(b)* Communist China, *(c)* Japan.
5. The longest river in the Soviet Union is *(a)* the Volga, *(b)* the Lena, *(c)* the Irtysk.
6. The world's largest lake is *(a)* the Caspian Sea, *(b)* the Black Sea, *(c)* the Baltic Sea.
7. The Ural Mountains *(a)* divide the Eurasian Plain between the continents of Asia and Europe, *(b)* separate the Soviet Union from the Balkan states, *(c)* have served as an effective barrier against invaders.
8. The most important vacation spot in the Soviet Union is *(a)* in the Crimean Peninsula, *(b)* along the Baltic coast, *(c)* on the Pacific coast.
9. Throughout the centuries Russia has tried to secure a "window to the west" in order to *(a)* have an important naval base, *(b)* maintain trade throughout the year, *(c)* encourage foreign travel in the country.

10. The chief rivers of Siberia flow toward *(a)* the Arctic Ocean in the north, *(b)* the Pacific Ocean in the east, *(c)* the mountains in the south.
11. The rivers of Siberia are not important highways of trade and commerce because *(a)* they are short in length, *(b)* they flow through areas which are not very heavily populated, *(c)* they empty into frozen waters.
12. The "Port of Five Seas" is a title given to *(a)* Leningrad, *(b)* Kiev, *(c)* Moscow.
13. The best farm lands of the Soviet Union are found in the *(a)* taiga, *(b)* steppes, *(c)* Mediterranean climate zone.
14. The world's largest producer of wheat and sugar is *(a)* the United States, *(b)* the Soviet Union, *(c)* Cuba.
15. The largest city in the Soviet Union is *(a)* Moscow, *(b)* Leningrad, *(c)* Kiev.
16. The Eurasian Plain has been important in Russian history because *(a)* it has helped to protect the country from invasion, *(b)* it has barred cold Arctic winds from sweeping southward, *(c)* it has made transportation easier because of the absence of natural barriers.
17. The largest group of Slavic peoples in the Soviet Union is *(a)* the Great Russians, *(b)* the White Russians, *(c)* the Red Russians.
18. The second largest religion practiced in the Soviet Union today is *(a)* Greek Orthodox, *(b)* Roman Catholic, *(c)* Islam.
19. The most important source of fuel in the Soviet Union today is *(a)* coal, *(b)* gas and oil, *(c)* wood.
20. The Soviet port on the Arctic Circle that is ice-free all year round is *(a)* Archangel, *(b)* Murmansk, *(c)* Vyborg.
21. The Soviet Union is the world's leading producer of *(a)* petroleum and hydroelectric power, *(b)* pig iron and gold, *(c)* iron ore and manganese.
22. The city founded by Peter the Great is *(a)* Leningrad, *(b)* Volgograd, *(c)* Moscow.
23. The Soviet Union has *(a)* more ports than any other major country, *(b)* the longest coastline of any country, *(c)* an ice-free port at Vladivostok.
24. Many new cities in the Soviet Union have been built in *(a)* the Ukraine, *(b)* the steppes region, *(c)* Siberia.
25. The world's largest supply of timber is found in the *(a)* taiga, *(b)* tundra, *(c)* steppes.
26. Siberia is *(a)* a storehouse of fuels, water power potential and raw materials, *(b)* the home of a majority of the Soviet people, *(c)* easily accessible to the West.

27. The Kremlin, offices and residence of the Soviet government, is located in *(a)* Leningrad, *(b)* Moscow, *(c)* Kuibyshev.
28. The Hermitage, in Leningrad, is a *(a)* famous museum, *(b)* center of the Soviet Union's space research, *(c)* chief atomic reactor plant in the Soviet Union.
29. The U.S.S.R. consists of *(a)* 10, *(b)* 15, *(c)* 18 republics.
30. The most important language in the Soviet Union today is *(a)* Ukrainian, *(b)* Russian, *(c)* Turkic.

KEY WORDS AND PHRASES

Can you explain the meaning of the following words and phrases? Use a dictionary if necessary.

Eurasian Plain
tundra
taiga
steppes
"black earth"
"window to the west"
"Port of Five Seas"
Red Square
Cyrillic alphabet
permafrost
Kremlin
"autonomous region"

TRUE OR FALSE

Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Give reasons for your answers.

1. "The Soviet Union is not a country; it is a world."
2. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is, in effect, a land-locked country.
3. The great Eurasian Plain has been very important to the Soviet Union.
4. The Ural Mountains have been an effective barrier against foreign invaders.
5. The Soviet Union has a great variety of climate zones.
6. Russia's long ambition has been a "window to the west."
7. The Soviet Union has linked up major rivers and seas through the construction of canals.
8. The Soviet Union has no deserts.
9. The Soviet Union is very rich in natural resources.
10. Soviet Asia is a storehouse of natural wealth.
11. The Crimea is the great farming area of the Soviet Union.
12. Soviet policy permits the many nationalities in the country to retain their languages and customs.

CHART COMPLETION

Complete the chart below:

Climate-Vegetation Zone	*Location*	*Products*	*Description*
1. TUNDRA			
2. TAIGA			
3. STEPPES			
4. DESERT			
5. MEDITERRANEAN			

THINGS TO DO

1. For each of the five main climate areas in the Soviet Union, a student should find out how the weather affects the people who live there. The report should include such features as temperature, rainfall, vegetation, type of homes, and the chief ways of earning a living.
2. Prepare a series of charts to show the percentage of the Soviet Union's production in relation to the rest of the world in the following products: iron ore, coal, petroleum, gold, wheat, sugar, potatoes.
3. Prepare an outline map of the Soviet Union showing where the important different nationalities live.
4. There are many different races and nationalities in the Soviet Union. Selected students should research the history, language, customs and traditions of such peoples as the Cossacks, the Georgians of the Caucasus region, the Uzbeks and Kazakhs from Soviet central Asia, the Finns of Karelia and the Little Russians from the Ukraine.
5. Prepare a five minute talk on one of the following topics:
   a. The waterways of the Soviet Union.
   b. Soviet Asia as "the storehouse of great wealth."
   c. The policy of the Soviet Union toward nationalities.
   d. Religion in the Soviet Union.
   e. The importance and development of electric power in the Soviet Union.

Chapter 2

THE HISTORY OF RUSSIA TO 1917

As we study the history of Russia over the last thousand years, we shall meet again and again several important central ideas which have had great influence. In the following pages look for and discover these themes:

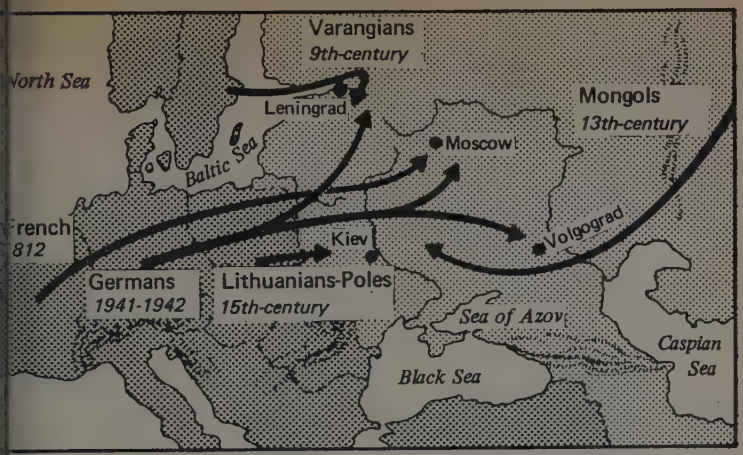
1. absolute power by the ruler;
2. expansion—by conquest, by marriage, by trickery;
3. geography and its determining influence upon history;
4. distrust and fear of foreign invasion;
5. city influence.

Russia's history can be divided into five major periods, each revolving around a major city: Kiev, Sarai, Moscow, St. Petersburg, and then after 1917, Moscow again.

A. THE BEGINNINGS OF THE SLAVIC PEOPLES

As early as the 3rd century, Slavs were living in the region north of the Carpathian Mountains. The invasions of the dangerous and feared Huns in the 4th century forced these people to scatter. Some of them moved south into the Balkans, forming the group that eventually became the modern Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, and Bulgarians, known as the South Slavs. Others moved westward and became the Poles, Czechs, and Slovaks, known as the West Slavs. Those Slavs who moved east and settled on the eastern side of the great Eurasian Plain were the ancestors of the Russians.

The eastern Slavs built many towns and were ruled by local leaders who made war upon each other very often. They en-



Russia has been invaded by peoples from east and west during the past eleven centuries.

aged in farming, pottery and cloth making, and used tools and eapons made of iron. By the 9th century, these Slavic peoples ere found in the Dnieper River valley, with settlements at ovgorod on the Volkhov River in the north and at Kiev on e Dnieper River in the south.

About the middle of the 9th century, these settlements were reatened by invaders from the east. The Khazars, an Asiatic eople from the region north of the Caspian Sea, established strong rule over the land around the lower Dnieper River and egan to move northward. The Slavs turned for aid to the arangians—powerful Viking warrior merchants—of the Scandinavian peninsula. Legend has it that the people of Novgorod equested their help, saying, "Our land is great and abundant, ut there is no order in it; come to rule and reign over us."

The Slavs and the Varangians joined forces against the Khazars. Tradition makes Rurik the Varangian leader who established himself in Novgorod in 862 and laid the foundations for Varangian rule. His successor, Oleg, strengthened this rule by capturing the towns of Smolensk and Kiev.

The name "Russia" is derived from the Varangian word "rus" meaning "ruddy" or "fair" men. The Slavs agreed to be ruled

by the Varangians who pledged to protect them from the Khazars. The two peoples gradually merged and from this absorption came the beginnings of the Russian people.

B. KIEV—THE FIRST CAPITAL OF RUSSIA (9th to 13th centuries)

The ideal location of Kiev as a trading center helped to make this city the first capital of the Russian people. The Varangians established their rule at Kiev and extended their control over the other towns along the Dnieper River, as far north as the city of Novgorod, whose prince was forced to pay tribute to the prince of Kiev. The Varangians organized protection for the Slavs by bringing in their own soldiers, building up forts, and training Slavs as soldiers.

The ambitious grand princes of Kiev were able to control the towns and peoples stretching from the Volga to the Danube rivers. Kiev, however, was never able to make the country into a unified state. The princes or rulers of the different cities and regions continually warred with each other or against the Grand Prince of Kiev and, although they recognized him as their leader by paying him tribute, they never gave him complete loyalty or support. The Russian city-states of that period, from the 9th to the 12th centuries, formed a loose and weak federation of more or less independent states.

Trade was fostered by the Kievan rulers, especially with Constantinople in the Byzantine Empire. Every year hundreds of boats sailed down the Dnieper River to the Black Sea and then to Constantinople with furs, wax, honey, grain, and forest products to exchange for the wines, perfumes and silks of the Byzantines.

The culture, crafts, and religion of the Byzantine Empire were thus brought into Russia. Trade in handicrafts of various kinds flourished, and an urban class of merchants developed. In the 12th century, Kiev was the largest city in all of Russia and rivaled the large cities of Western Europe. It is said that there

The Cathedral of St. Sophia at Novgorod—a beautiful example of 11th century Byzantine architecture in Russia.

were more than 600 churches in Kiev at that time. Painting, mosaic work, and architecture were copied from Byzantine models.

The most successful of the princes of Kiev was Yaroslav the Wise (1019-1054). He ruled a very large state in Russia and exerted considerable power in Europe. He was married to a Swedish princess; his sister was married to the Polish king; three daughters were married respectively to the kings of France, Hungary and Norway; a son married into the Byzantine ruling family. With Byzantine help, he built the magnificent Cathedral of St. Sophia. He began to codify and unify the laws of his various dependent states. Following the custom of the times, he divided his state among his five sons who began to quarrel among themselves and were unable to prevent the invasion of a tribe called the Cumans. These tribesmen settled in the north in the 11th century and blocked the river route to the Byzantine Empire; Byzantine trade shifted west to the Italian cities. In 1169, Kiev was attacked and sacked by the Cumans. The people of Kiev fled north in another Slavic migration; some went to Novgorod, others to Moscow and Vladimir. The Kiev region

was left to the Cumans and the few Russians who remained.

Although Kiev had lost its position of leadership, its princes had succeeded in taking the first steps toward absolute power. They had built up their kingdoms by conquest and alliances, and had gradually acquired the right to bequeath their lands and titles to their sons.

Introduction of Christianity. The early Slavs were pagans who worshipped nature gods in various shapes and forms. Christianity was introduced to them by the missionary brothers Cyril and Methodius who were sent from Constantinople, in 863. The former is said to have invented the Russian alphabet which is still called the "Cyrillic" alphabet and is used in writing several Slavic languages besides Russian. In 988, Prince Vladimir of Kiev (980-1015) married the daughter of a Byzantine emperor, was converted to Christianity and brought about the adoption of this religion by his people.

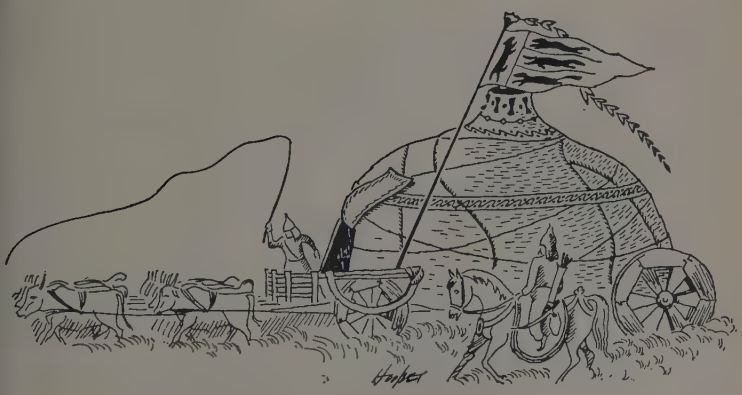
The Greek Orthodox religion thus became the religion of Russia. The ties between Constantinople and Kiev, strong because of the rich trade between the two cities, became stronger through this religious connection. The head of the Greek Orthodox Church was the Patriarch of Constantinople. He appointed the metropolitan (chief bishop) of Kiev, the religious leader of that city. The metropolitan was invariably a Greek, not a Russian, although many of the bishops and lower clergy were Russian. Schools were established by the Orthodox Church, and some education was offered by the Russian clergy.

The dividing of the Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox churches, in 1054, helped to separate Russia from Western Europe. Classical Greek culture—the ideas of Plato and Aristotle—never found its way into Russia. The Greek language declined as the Russian alphabet and language came into more widespread use; therefore, the priests rarely learned to read Greek and Latin. Moreover, only the higher clergy had much education; the lower parish priests knew little more than their ignorant peasant followers. Cut off from Western European civilization, the rulers of Kiev were little affected by the ideas that guided the thought of other European rulers; their people

remained even less civilized than the peasants of France and Germany. This separation, completed by the Mongol conquest of the 13th century, was of great and lasting historical significance.

C. SARAI—THE CAPITAL OF THE GOLDEN HORDE (13th to 16th centuries)

From the central plains of China there came new invaders—the Mongols. In 1223, a Mongol army met a Russian army and destroyed it at a battle on the Kalka River, near the Sea of Azov. The prince of Kiev was crushed by the victorious invaders, who turned back after they reached the Dnieper River. Fifteen years later they returned, under the leadership of Batu Khan, grandson of Genghis Khan, and they swept over the Siberian steppes, crossed the Volga River, and then moved into the south, destroying, burning, killing. Kiev, Moscow, Vladimir, and other cities felt their wrath. The invaders left behind them ruin and massacre. They struck out for Novgorod but that city, protected by its surrounding and often impassable marshes, was spared. The Mongols withdrew southward and established themselves on the



The splendid yert *(tent) of Batu, leader of the Golden Horde. It was at least 20 feet between wheels and was drawn by 24 cattle.*

lower Volga and Don rivers, then they pushed further westward into Hungary and Poland, up to the gates of Vienna. There they were forced back into Russia because of a defeat in Bohemia and of internal difficulties in the Mongol empire after their great leader, Genghis Khan, had died.

The Mongols built their capital at Sarai, on the lower Volga River, from which they controlled Russia for the next 250 years. The Mongols, or Tatars, were called the "Golden Horde," because of the splendor of the tent home in which Batu, their leader, lived.

Mongol Rule. The Mongols looked upon Russia primarily as a source of tribute (money payments), and so long as the tribute was paid they allowed the Russian princes and Orthodox priests to rule much as they had before. Gradually a sort of Russian feudal system came into being. Russian princes travelled to Sarai, and sometimes all the way to Asia, to pay homage to the Grand Khan and win the privilege of collecting the Tatar tribute.

A noble class of *boyars* ran the local governments. The peasants lived in small villages called *mirs,* paid heavy taxes, and were prevented from fleeing from their lands to freer territories in the north and west. The Tatars were tolerant of Christianity and allowed the Russian church to keep its lands as long as it paid tribute.

The Mongols encouraged the idea that the princes were the absolute rulers of their states, and that the nobles and peasants were the servants of their government. Thus was continued the idea of authoritarian rule in Russia. The Mongols taught that using force was the only effective way to govern the huge country. They made the priests the agents of the princes; a secret police was created so that the entire population was under continual observation and control. The slightest attempt to disobey the laws of the Tatar khan was met with cruel punishment, often immediate death.

Cut off from trade with the outside world, Russian cities grew smaller than ever, and people moved to the *mirs* and became peasants. The Russians and their almost barbaric rulers lost contact with the civilizations of Western Europe. None of the

many changes and ideas associated with the Renaissance or the Reformation of the 14th and 15th centuries reached Russia.

The only parts of Russia free from Mongol control were the northern and western sections, with the city of Novgorod as the center. Germanic and Scandinavian peoples tried to conquer these areas. In 1240, a Swedish attack on Novgorod was turned back by Prince Alexander Nevsky at the battle of the Neva River. Two years later, the same prince defeated the Teutonic Knights on the ice of Lake Peipus when they attempted to conquer the city. Thus, the Mongols from the east and south, and the Germans and Scandinavians from the west and north forced the Russians who were still independent to "keep their powder dry" and to be on the alert against foreign invaders.

D. MOSCOW
(15th to 18th centuries)

During the 15th century, Muscovy, the territory around Moscow, became the most important of the Russian states. Located near the headwaters of rivers that flow to the north and south, it lay on the trade routes to the east. Near the southern edge of the tree belt of the plains, Muscovy had the necessary raw materials for forest industries such as timber and tar, and it was also near the rich black earth of the steppes. Its people, many of whom had fled from the invaders of Kiev, supported a strong government, and were lucky to have a number of able and ambitious rulers. By force, by marriage, and by treachery, these rulers gradually extended their rule over neighboring princes.

One of these rulers, Ivan I (nicknamed "Kalita" or "Moneybag"), persuaded the Mongols to appoint him to collect all their tribute from the other Russian princes. He assumed the title of "sovereign prince of Russia." Then he persuaded the head of the Russian Orthodox Church to move from Vladimir (to which he had fled from Kiev when that city fell) to Moscow. By these alliances with the Church and the Mongols, Ivan was able to extend his authority over other Russian princes.

Old Moscow had its share of filth, wooden buildings, pungent markets, ornate stone churches, grand homes, and snow.

The Muscovites still faced two serious threats. The Mongols, worried by the growing strength of Muscovy, marched to conquer it but were thrown back in 1380. Thereafter, though the Golden Horde remained supreme in theory, its actual power declined. A more dangerous threat came from the powerful state of Lithuania-Poland, which had adopted Catholicism and was ready to challenge the rising Russian state.

Ivan III, the Great (1462-1505). The first great ruler of Russia was Ivan III. He had three major goals: (1) to expand his control over neighboring princes; (2) to end the rule of the Mongols; (3) to make himself the absolute and unchallenged ruler of his country.

Ivan attacked any other Russian state that defied him. He conquered the cities of Tver and Novgorod. As he moved eastward, he drove the Polish-Lithuanians, in 1492 and 1501, from part of the Ukraine and added that territory to his. In 1480, he refused to pay any further tribute to the Mongols and declared his freedom from their control. The year 1480 means "the overthrow of the Tatar yoke" to the Russians. Thus, he succeeded in his first two goals.

Ivan III succeeded in his third goal by making himself the absolute monarch of Muscovy. In 1492, the Roman Pope arranged Ivan's marriage with Zoë (*Sophia,* in Russian), a Catholic niece of the last Byzantine emperor. He hoped that she would lead Orthodox Russia into the Roman Catholic fold. Instead, she carried to Moscow not Catholicism but Byzantine ideas of autocracy. She encouraged Ivan to use the Byzantine title of "autocrat" and the Roman title of "Caesar" (*czar,* in Russian). She employed foreign architects to rebuild Moscow's Kremlin, a fortified area in the center of the city. Within its walls, Ivan ruled in Byzantine splendor, surrounded by princes and *boyars* (landowning aristocrats one step below the princes) who became more and more dependent on him for favors and support. He adopted the orb, scepter and other insignia of Byzantine rule, and the Byzantine double eagle emblem, which looks both east and west. Then he set about making all Russians the servants of the state.

The *boyars* who did not do as Ivan wished lost their estates; they held land on condition that they serve the czar. In return, they were given increased authority over their peasants, who lost more of their freedom as they were forbidden to leave their land if they were in debt. Since this was usually the case, they were little better than serfs of their landlords. In this way, most Russian people became the servants of the lords, and the lords became the servants of the Russian state. Serfdom grew stronger in Russia at a time when it was being weakened in Western Europe.

Another idea that Ivan imported from Byzantium was that Moscow had become the "Third Rome." As a Russian monk of the period wrote, "Two Romes had fallen. A third stands, and a fourth shall not be." The first capital of Christianity had been Rome. When Rome fell to the Germanic tribes in the 5th century, the capital of Christendom had moved to Orthodox Constantinople. When Constantinople had been captured by the Turks, the center of Christianity had moved to Moscow, the "Third Rome." The czars were the heirs of both the Roman and Byzantine emperors and, therefore, there was no limit to their authority.

At his death, Ivan had achieved his three major goals. His son, Vasily (1505-1533), continued the consolidation of the Russian state.

Ivan IV, the "Terrible" (1533-1584). For half of the 16th century, Russia was governed by a cruel and ruthless ruler. Ivan IV, grandson of Ivan III, was only three years old when he inherited the throne. At the age of seventeen (1547), he had himself crowned czar—the first Russian ruler to adopt the title officially—and set out to take the control of the government away from the *boyar* families who had ruled during his childhood. In 1564, the *boyars* rose in a revolt that Ivan put down with great cruelty. The following year he took away the lands of these nobles and gave them to new nobles in return for their loyalty and support. He established security police called *oprichniks* who were outfitted with black clothes and black horses and sent through the country to terrify all who opposed

m. In this way, he destroyed the power of the old nobility and rengthened his control over the government and the people.

Russia continued to grow under Ivan. Although he was unable expand westward against the Poles and Swedes, he succeeded defeating the Tatars in Kazan, and won control of the upper olga valley. Then he captured the Tatar city of Astrakhan at e southern end of the Volga River, bringing all that area under s rule. Between 1583 and 1584, the Cossack leader, Yermak, feated the Siberian khan and claimed all of western Siberia r the Muscovite czar. The door to the Pacific was open, and l of Siberia subsequently came under Russian rule.

Time of Troubles." The violent and cruel Ivan was succeeded y his son, Feodor I (1584-1598), who was very weak and ould not control his subjects. Peasants and poor nobles revolted gainst czarist rule; even the Cossacks, who were members of a vored military caste of frontiersmen and border guards, re-blted. The next czar, Boris Godunov (1598-1605), was faced ith a series of uprisings. Peasants sought freedom; merchants anted orderly government; the Cossacks wanted no government t all.

For almost ten years, Russia endured a "time of troubles." ivil war broke out and a number of nobles and princes claimed ne throne. Even neighboring Poland invaded Russia, captured Moscow, and put its own claimant on the throne.

At this point, the Russians stopped fighting each other and nited in opposition to a Polish Catholic as czar in the Kremlin. volunteer militia drove the Poles from Moscow. The *Zemsky obor,* an assembly of *boyars,* clergy and landholders, elected s czar, in 1613, a young native Russian noble, Michael Romnov, a grandnephew of Ivan IV. The Romanov family continued to rule Russia until 1917.

The First Romanovs. The first two Romanovs, Michael and is son Alexius, ruled Russia from 1613 to 1676. Neither was trong, but they both restored some order to the country and ept out foreign invaders.

Although Czar Michael shared power for a while with the

Zemsky Sobor, Alexius reestablished the absolute authority
the czar, and the *boyars* attempted to increase their autho
over the peasants. A series of peasant uprisings turned int
violent rebellion in 1669 in the Volga valley. Led by Step
Razin, whose name is found in many Russian folk songs a
stories, thousands of peasants marched toward Moscow. It to
the czar's armies two years to put down the peasant rebelli
Razin was captured and executed.

There were even revolts in the Church. In 1656, the patria
Nikon attempted to make the Russian Orthodox Church m
like its parent Greek Orthodox Church. The educated up
clergy welcomed what seemed like mild reforms, such as corre
ing the Orthodox prayer books and rites, but parish priests a
their faithful followers were horrified at the idea of chang
the Church. Calling themselves "Old Believers," they resis
every effort to make them change their ways. They failed, a
were driven out of the Church, and Nikon was imprison
Czar Alexius supported the changes, and so won greater cont
over the Orthodox Church.

Additional territory came under czarist rule. Cossacks unc
their leader, Bogdan Khmelnitsky, drove the Poles out of m
of the Ukraine in 1648, and offered this land to Moscow.

The early Romanovs began to take an interest in Europe
ways during the 17th century. European doctors, enginee
merchants, and technicians began to appear in Russian citi
but most of the inhabitants suspected and avoided them. The
as the 17th century drew to a close, the most outstanding of
czars set out to drag Russia into Europe by force.

E. ST. PETERSBURG
(18th to 20th centuries)

Peter the Great (1682-1725). A period of confusion follow
the death of Alexius in 1676. His sons, Peter and Ivan, becam
co-czars in 1682. Peter, at the age of 17, became the sole effe
tive ruler in 1689. Peter was a giant of a man, over six and

alf feet tall, with strength and vigor to match. He had been rought up in a Moscow suburb near the foreign residents' quarter and was curious about all that these outsiders could each him. He learned to read and write and acquired some nowledge of Greek and Latin. He became interested in the art f war at a young age, and organized a regiment of young nobles who played at battle very seriously. The young czar also had practical turn of mind; he later boasted that he had studied 5 trades, from shipbuilding to engineering to wood-carving. He was not afraid of physical work, and preferred it to book learning. He devoted his life to gaining as much power as possible for himself and for his country.

Peter's Reforms. All of Peter's policies were planned to make Russia strong in war. He realized that Western Europe had much to teach him and his country so he sent several hundred Russians to Europe in 1697-1698 to study gunnery, shipbuilding, printing, and navigation. Peter went along with them, disguised as Corporal Peter Mikhailov of the Royal Guards. He worked in a shipyard in Holland and recruited skilled workers for Russian factories. He then travelled to England, where he visited docks, arsenals, museums, and Parliament (which he respected, though he neither liked nor understood it). Peter learned a great deal, and the Western people enjoyed seeing what the Russians were like. He was the first czar to leave the country, but he had to return to Moscow because of a revolt which was put down with great cruelty. Then he set out to make Russia more European.

As a symbol of his determination to end old Mongol and Byzantine customs, he ordered all men to cut off their beards and to give up wearing the long coats which were customary among the Russians. He himself wielded a razor and scissors on some of his courtiers. He wanted to make the Russians look like Westerners, who were clean-shaven and wore short dress. There was much resentment over this simple reform, and Peter had finally to permit the wearing of a beard, but only after paying for a beard license!

More important, he invited foreigners to Russia, and he sent

Bushy beards and oriental kaftans *of the* boyars *symbolized t*
Peter the spirit that held Russia back from European modernity

hundreds of young Russians to Europe to study. Inside Russi
he established schools, especially for the children of nobles, an
even an Academy of Science modeled on those he had seen i
Europe. In 1703, he founded the first Russian newspaper.

Peter left few aspects of Russian life unchanged. He en
couraged industry, ordered the construction of canals, and buil
military roads between the principal cities. He created a civi
service system through which able administrators could advanc
to the power and status of the nobility. Service, whether i
military or civil administration, was for life. He created a serie
of ministerial "colleges," charged with responsibility for specifi
departments of the government, such as the army, the navy
foreign affairs, commerce, and finance. He brought the Churc
directly under his control in 1721 by abolishing the office of patri
arch, and replacing it with a group of bishops, called the Holy
Synod and headed by a layman whom he appointed.

He strengthened and modernized the army and founded a

navy. He required the nobles to serve as officers, and drafted peasants to serve as soldiers under strict discipline and training. The nobles were sent to school to study mathematics, engineering and foreign languages; they were to be educated, if need be, by force.

All these reforms were expensive. Although the nobles were taxed, the heaviest burden fell on the peasants. On them was laid the burden of financing the czar's wars and conquests, of paying for his army, his navy, his industrial investments, and his foreign specialists. In 1718, Peter levied a poll or "soul" tax on each peasant. Nobody escaped the tax except the clergy and the nobility.

Thousands of peasants were conscripted and forced to work on Peter's industrial projects, roads and canals. The most ambitious of his projects was the construction of a new capital—called St. Petersburg—on land seized from Sweden. From every part of Russia he drafted thousands of workers to clear the stretches of swamp on which the city was built. Epidemic after epidemic took the lives of thousands of workers. Between 1714 and 1718, he transferred the court and seat of government from Moscow to St. Petersburg which became his "window to the west."

Peter's Wars. Peter used his army and navy to win what he called a "window to the west," an outlet on the Baltic Sea from which trade and culture could pass from Europe to Russia. The land he desired belonged to Sweden, so in 1700 he attacked Sweden and began a 21-year conflict called the "Great Northern War." At first his poorly trained army was no match for the Swedes under their young but able king, Charles XII. But, in 1709, the Russians won a major victory at the Battle of Poltava. The war dragged on another 12 years, with Peter forced to fight the Ottoman Empire in the south as well as the Swedes in the north. The Treaty of Nystad, in 1721, brought the war to an end, with Russia in possession of the Baltic coast from Viborg to Riga. Russia emerged as a major power in the Baltic. In recognition of victory, the Russian Senate, created by Peter as his inner council and advisory board, conferred upon him

the title of "Pater Patriae, Imperator, Maximus" ("Father of his country, Emperor, Great").

Peter's Legacy. Peter made Russia a great empire. His various reforms about beards, clothing and education, it is true, influenced only a few people at the top of the social scale. Industrial growth took place in only a few regions and a few industries. The government remained in the hands of the nobles even though they were subject to the czar's authority. The rulers of the church changed, but the lower clergy continued to worship as before. The costs fell heavily on the peasants. Peter bled the peasantry and degraded the condition of serfdom. Peter the Great left agriculture as backward as it was before he became ruler.

Thus, Peter's efforts to remake his country in the image of the West did not radically change the basic lines along which Russia was developing. Russia remained an autocracy based on peasant serfdom and primitive agriculture, but Peter did make Russia strong enough to compete with the powers of Western Europe. He set down policies that Russian rulers followed after him: the drive into Eastern Europe; the domination of the military forces; the imposition of change by force upon a people unwilling to accept change; and the creation of a bureaucracy.

In spite of his many successes, Peter did not leave his own house in order when he died in 1725. His son and heir, Alexius, was killed at his father's order in 1718. In the 37 years after Peter's death (1725-1762) there were six rulers in Russia. Three were women—Catherine I, Anna, and Elizabeth—who were often influenced by foreigners. The three men, Peter II, Ivan V, and Peter III, were ineffective.

In spite of some resulting confusion in the government, Russia's military strength improved, and some territory was acquired by alliances with European nations. New schools were created, some not restricted just to the children of the nobility. The first Russian University was founded at Moscow in 1755. Modern Russian literature and scientific studies were fostered by the scholar, Mikhail Lomonosov (1711-1765).

atherine the Great (1762-1796). No period in Russian history mpares in outward splendor with that of Catherine the Great. his was the spectacular age of St. Petersburg, of Russian riches d glitter—the golden age of the nobility. It was brought about r a woman who was not Russian by birth, but who became ore Russian, by adoption, than Peter the Great had ever ien.

In 1745, the heir to the Russian throne, a grandson of Peter e Great, married his second cousin, Sophia Augusta, the ughter of a minor German noble. Sophia was received into e Orthodox Church and took the name of Catherine. Seven- en years later, her husband became Peter III, czar of Russia. e reigned for six months, during which time he antagonized any powerful groups in the country. He ended a successful ussian campaign against the Prussians because he liked the ussian king; he freed the nobility from their military or serv- e obligations to the state, thus weakening his control over em; he offended the Church by taking away its property; he d nothing to help the downtrodden serfs. Peter was overthrown y a swift and successful coup in 1762. Amid the cheers of yal troops, his wife, Catherine, was acclaimed sovereign. Peter ed, probably murdered, a few days after he was dethroned. atherine was czarina for 34 years.

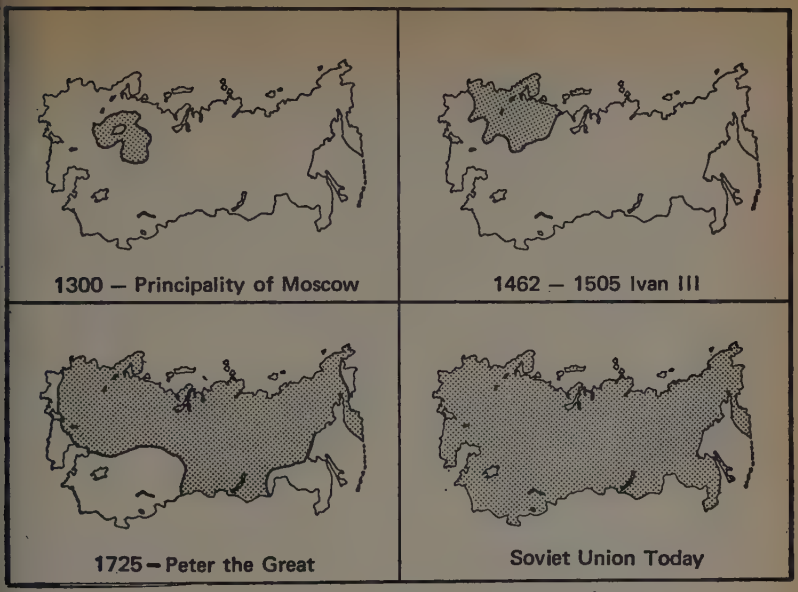
Catherine loved flattery, pleasure and fine clothes; she was mart, ambitious and unscrupulous. Her private morals were a ublic scandal; she had a long succession of lovers, and re- arded them with money, estates, and titles. Despite all this, e showed considerable talent for running a government, and e recognized ability in others. She had the intelligence to grasp eter the Great's farsighted aims, and she attempted to realize em. She read the works of the liberal writers of Western urope, such as Montesquieu and Voltaire, corresponded with em, and invited them to St. Petersburg. But she never allowed y real liberalism in Russia.

atherine's Domestic Policies. Like Peter the Great, Catherine troduced some European ideas. Education received a good eal of attention, but only 300 new elementary schools were

established during Catherine's long reign! She supported t
study of medicine and science, increased interest in Fren
culture, and encouraged literature and art. St. Petersburg b
came a glittering showplace, a rival to Versailles in Franc
She extended freedom of worship to several religious groups
her large empire, such as the Moslems.

The conditions of the peasants and serfs became worse duri
her reign. Of the 36 million people in Russia at this time (t
largest population in any state in Europe) some 34 million we
peasants. Twenty million were serfs on private estates, and t
rest were state or royal land peasants, not far removed from t
strict conditions of serfdom. Catherine created thousands
new nobles and gave them land and serfs. As Russia began
industrialize, and the number of factories and mines increase
the government awarded serfs to the factory owners as sla
labor. The working conditions in these factories and mines we
inhuman. Thousands of serfs were conscripted into the Russia
army. Serfs paid rent either in cash, crops or labor amountin
to three to five days of their week's work, and their living co
ditions were miserable. Discipline was maintained by floggin
or whipping. An imperial edict of 1767 prohibited any com
plaints by a serf against his master under threat of the severe
penalties. The owner of a serf had the legal right to punish hi
by condemning him to convict labor in Siberia. The serf, wor
of all, could not leave his plot of land; he was bound to the so
he tilled. He could be bought or sold like a chair or a book.

These conditions led to a serious peasant revolt. In 1773, th
Cossack leader, Pugachev (who pretended to be the murdere
Peter III), collected a large following of Cossacks, fugitiv
peasants, serfs, military deserters, and other discontented groups
and promised to end oppression for all. Within a short time, al
of Russia north of the Caspian Sea was aflame. Many of th
forts along the Volga and Ural rivers were seized, and the cit
of Kazan, only 400 miles east of Moscow, was destroyed. Th
rebellion was so great that Catherine had to end a war agains
Turkey to be able to send an army to suppress it. After a yea
of fighting, Pugachev's armies were defeated; he was captured
tortured, and executed.



Russia extends its territory—1300 to today.

This revolt had both immediate and lasting effects. The peasants hated their masters with greater intensity; the landowners levied even more severe penalties on their serfs. Catherine reformed the system of local government, in 1775, by dividing Russia into 50 provinces, each with some 400,000 inhabitants. At the head of each province was an imperial governor who was responsible directly to her. These changes neither weakened the privileges of the aristocracy nor improved the conditions of the serfs. Rather, they were designed to make government at the local level strong enough to prevent a repetition of the Pugachev revolt. The changes confirmed the fact that Russia was an empire ruled by an autocratic czarina.

Catherine's Foreign Policies. Catherine followed an aggressive foreign policy. Through her wars against Turkey, she acquired the Crimea and other lands along the north coast of the Black Sea. Turkey also agreed not to interfere with Black Sea com-

merce and to permit Russian ships to pass through the straits of the Bosporus and the Dardanelles.

The frontiers of western Russia were greatly extended through the successive partitions of the weak kingdom of Poland (1772, 1793, 1795). Participating in these divisions were Prussia and Austria. As a result of clever diplomacy, Catherine secured the major share of Poland and added some 180,000 square miles and about 6 million people to her already large empire. By this acquisition, Catherine moved Russia's frontiers several hundred miles westward and added Byelorussia, Lithuania, and all of the Ukraine.

Further expansion into Europe was blocked by the powerful nations, Prussia and Austria. The settlement of Siberia continued rapidly. Expanding boundaries brought additional foreign influences into Russia, both from Western Europeans and from the many nationalities whose lands the Russians had conquered.

There was a thin veneer of Western culture (mostly French) at the Russian court among the leading nobles, and there was a small group of scholars. Over 95 per cent of the population, however, remained serfs on the country estates. There they lived in their tiny, isolated villages, scratching the earth with their crude wooden plows, and giving their lords most of their labor and services.

Paul III (1796-1801). Catherine's son became czar in 1796. His dislike of his mother led him to try to undo Catherine's work and to assert his will by changing everything. He was the first czar to take away some of the special privileges the nobles had accumulated in the previous 75 years. He denied them the right to petition the crown. He also limited the labor of a serf for his landlord to three days a week.

At this time, the French under Napoleon were expanding their control over their neighbors. Russia had joined a coalition with Britain against the French. However, Paul became very angry at the British when they refused to give him the island of Malta. He had reached an understanding with Napoleon to attack Britain through India when he was murdered in a palace revolt. He was succeeded by his well-liked son, Alexander.

Alexander I (1801-1825). Alexander began his reign by making a number of liberal reforms. He abolished torture in criminal cases, freed many political prisoners, permitted foreign books to be sold in Russia, and even allowed serfs, under limited conditions, to buy their freedom from their masters. Throughout his reign, Alexander was at times liberal and at times reactionary.

Foreign affairs began to occupy more and more of his time. Napoleon of France had conducted a successful campaign against the Austrians and Prussians and had increased French territory and prestige. Russian armies had been defeated by the French in 1805 at Austerlitz and again in 1807, but the great size of Russia, its large population and geographic location, led Napoleon to strike a bargain and make an alliance with Alexander.

The two emperors met on a raft in the middle of the Niemen River. Neither wanted to show inferiority by conferring in the other's territory. They signed what is called the Treaty of Tilsit (1807). They planned to divide Europe between them, with Napoleon dominating western and central Europe, and Russia dominating the Balkan area. Alexander also agreed to join the Continental System, a trade bloc against Britain. Thus, Napoleon hoped to defeat Britain which was the only country he had not been able to dominate.

Five years later, Napoleon, angry with Russia for opening its ports to British ships, invaded Russia with an army of half a million men. The Russians retreated before the invaders, destroyed everything behind them, and left Napoleon's troops little to find in the way of food or shelter. Napoleon entered Moscow in mid-September, 1812. A few weeks later, the city burned down. Without supplies or shelter, Napoleon ordered a retreat. An unusually early and severe winter hindered the army's march back to Western Europe. Cold, starvation, and attacks by Cossacks had reduced the army to 50,000 men when it finally staggered out of Russia. The disastrous Russian campaign hastened Napoleon's downfall.

At the Congress of Vienna (1814-1815) Alexander was able to secure Finland, Bessarabia and additional Polish territory. In one of his liberal moods, he granted a constitution to this "Con-

gress Poland." Russia's defeat of Napoleon and success at the Congress of Vienna marked Alexander's "hour of glory." He persuaded the other European monarchs to agree to a "Holy Alliance," by which they pledged to perform their duties in a Christian manner, to treat their subjects as their children, and their fellow rulers as their brothers. Since there was no way to enforce it, this vague treaty had little meaning for those who signed it. However, in 1815, Alexander became a member of the Quadruple Alliance with Austria, Prussia and Britain, which was a stronger means of maintaining the peace of Europe.

Decembrist Revolt, December, 1825. When Alexander I died, the throne passed to his youngest brother, Nicholas, not to the logical heir, his brother Constantine (who evidently did not want to be czar). A group of aristocratic Russian army officers, familiar with liberal Western ideas from their experiences in Western Europe during the Napoleonic campaigns, plotted against Nicholas. They wanted revolution not reform, a republic not a constitutional monarchy. The plotters favored an elected legislature and a free press, neither of which existed in Russia.

When news of Alexander's death reached St. Petersburg, the rebels planned a revolt of the army. While soldiers in the central square of St. Petersburg shouted "Constantine and Constitution" (it is doubtful if many of them knew what a constitution was), the main body of troops, loyal to Nicholas, fired on and scattered the disloyal soldiers. The leaders were captured and executed, and the revolt was over.

The Decembrist incident was a milestone in Russian history. A rebellion in Russia had as its aim not simply to put one ruler in place of another, but to change the very form of government.

Nicholas I, 1825-1855. The Decembrist Revolt hardened Nicholas' resolution to prevent another such plot from endangering his position as absolute ruler. An officer at heart, Nicholas adopted militaristic methods to strengthen his autocratic power and to fight dangerous ideas in all forms. He stressed the triple doctrine of *orthodoxy* (the Orthodox Church preaching loyalty to

he czar), *autocracy* (devotion to the person and to the police ule of the czar), and *nationalism* (patriotism and love for Mother Russia").

A widespread secret police, called the "Third Section," was et up to supervise all the people. Repressive measures over chools, newspapers, and the army silenced expressions of oppo- ition or suggestions of reform. Foreign travel was frowned pon, and foreign books, papers, and people were carefully crutinized, even excluded from Russia. Yet Russian literature lourished in spite of the arrest of such writers as Ivan Turgenev nd the young Feodor Dostoevsky. Other famous writers who ppeared during these repressive years included Alexander Pushkin, Nikolai Gogol and Leo Tolstoy.

The Polish revolt in 1830 was put down with great severity by the Russians; the Polish constitution that had been granted by Alexander I was abolished, and the country was made part of the Russian empire. A campaign of stern Russification followed. The use of the Polish language was restricted; the Polish Catholic Church was dissolved; Poles were replaced by Russian officials in all local positions. Nicholas, hating any form of liberalism, aided Austria in 1848 to put down democratic and nationalist revolts in Vienna and in Hungary.

Crimean War (1853-1856). Czars since Peter the Great had tried to secure a warm water port at Constantinople. Nicholas made another effort. Turkey, weak and growing weaker (called "the sick man of Europe" by Nicholas), seemed particularly vulnerable. Nicholas demanded the right to protect all Ottoman subjects of the Orthodox faith. When this was refused by the sultan of Turkey, Russia declared war, and destroyed a Turkish fleet in the Black Sea. This led Britain and France to go to war against Russia. Britain did not want Russian ships on the Mediterranean to threaten the important British route to India through the Suez Canal.

Most of the fighting took place in the Crimean Peninsula which the Russians stubbornly defended. The Russian fortress of Sevastopol was besieged and destroyed.

The slaughter of the British at the battle of Balaklava is a heroic legend, glorified by Lord Tennyson in his famous "Charge of the Light Brigade." Two-thirds of the brigade fell in the actual battle as the British made their suicidal charge through a withering Russian cross fire.

The heroine of this senseless war was Florence Nightingale, a British nurse who organized the care of the sick and wounded soldiers in the field hospitals. Her pioneering work was the basis for the International Red Cross, established in 1864.

When Nicholas died, in 1855, the war was going against Russia. His successor, Alexander II, ended the war. The Treaty of Paris (1856) cost Russia much prestige and influence in Near Eastern affairs. The Christian subjects in the Ottoman Empire were not placed under Russia's protection. The Black Sea was closed to Russian warships, and Nicholas I did not succeed in gaining the warm water port he so much desired.

Alexander II (1855-1881). The reign of Alexander II brought about reforms and policies that drew Russia closer to the monarchies in central Europe. Perhaps his most outstanding accomplishment was the abolition of serfdom in 1861. The defeats suffered by Russia in the Crimean War were not the only reason for freeing the serfs. Serf revolts had become more violent and more frequent, and many landowners believed that free labor would be more efficient than serf labor. There was an increasing need for workers in the factories and mills of Russia, which could be met only by freedom for the serfs.

Emancipation of the Serfs. Shortly after the Treaty of Paris was signed, Alexander II, speaking to a noble's assembly in Moscow, said "It is better to abolish serfdom from above than to wait until the serfs begin to liberate themselves." For the next five years solutions were discussed in the press, in universities, and in committees of representatives from educated groups. In March, 1861, the Czar issued his famous decree which freed the more than 20 million serfs on privately owned estates. This number was doubled when the state and imperial

The emancipation of the serfs did not materially improve their miserable lives. They wanted land they could call their own.

serfs were freed several years later. They were given land to guarantee their livelihood—land bought for them by the government from the nobles. The newly freed serfs were to repay the government for this land loan over a period of 49 years.

The land was not given to the peasants personally. Instead, it was turned over to the village community or *mir* which consisted of the heads of families in the village. Strips of land were assigned to peasant families. These pieces of land were to be reassigned by the *mir* every 10 or 12 years. Thus, no peasant family felt it owned a plot of land which it could call its own. The *mir* was held responsible for the payment of these "redemption dues," as the land loans were called.

The amount of land that each household received was barely enough for a family's needs in 1861. Thirty and forty years later, it was totally inadequate. The increase in population was not matched by an increase in the number of acres available for distribution among the families. On land where 50 families lived in 1861, there were 80 or more families in 1900. The *mir* redistributed the same amount of land among more families.

Each family, thus, received a smaller amount of land to provide the necessities of life, pay back its share of the redemption dues, and meet the taxes levied by the Czar's government.

Since the peasant did not own his land, he could see little reason for improving it. He was not encouraged to use better methods of farming, more modern tools or improved seed. He found it more and more difficult to pay his debts to the government, yet they hung over his head and made his miserable life even unhappier. The government was unwilling and unable to help him solve these problems. His small allotment of land seldom required more than two or three days of his work week; he had plenty of time to brood over his misfortune and listen to agitators who proposed solutions to his problems. The peasants' need for more land was one of the major reasons for the outbreak of violent revolutions in later years, especially in 1905 and again in 1917.

Period of Great Reforms. The abolition of serfdom, which had been the basis for the medieval structure of Russian economic and social life, made reforms in various areas vitally necessary.

The government services that had been performed by the nobles before the emancipation of the serfs had to be put into the hands of others. In 1864, popularly elected assemblies, called *zemstovs,* consisting of representatives from the nobility, townspeople and peasants, were set up in all counties and provinces of Russia. The *zemstovs* were given the right to collect taxes for local projects, such as schools, hospitals, roads and bridges, and to provide these things for the inhabitants. Ordinary Russians were, thus, given a limited opportunity to take part in public affairs.

In 1864, jury trials were introduced into the court system. Judges were appointed for life; court proceedings were held in public, and the principle of equal justice for all was established. These reforms had limited value because the independence of the courts was often restricted by the many special courts and by the secret police who still existed. However, one important result of these reforms was the development of the legal profession.

In 1870, a system of town councils was created. Voting rights were granted to all tax-paying residents. These local *dumas,* or representative bodies, promoted public health and education facilities and drew their sources of revenue chiefly from voluntary contributions. The *dumas* provided another opportunity for self-expression, something which the Russians had never had.

Universal military service was introduced in 1874, and the period of military service was reduced from 25 to six years. The cruelest forms of corporal punishment were abolished, and a broad program of army education was established. It has been said that before 1917 it was chiefly in the army that the Russian peasant learned to read and write.

Decline of the Reform Spirit. These reforms intensified the efforts of various groups in Russia to force the czar to grant further concessions. Alexander changed his mind about liberal ideas. A revolt against his rule by the Poles, in 1863, was cruelly crushed. In 1866, an unsuccessful attempt was made on Alexander's life. He determined to yield no further; he ordered police action, mass arrests, exile or imprisonment to fight the growing wave of revolutionary sentiment. The schools and universities were closely supervised and regulated. The press and books were censored, as the police increased their efforts to destroy the secret societies that threatened the life of the czar.

Foreign Affairs Under Alexander II. In his determination to regain some of the prestige lost by Russia's defeat in the Crimean War, Alexander turned to the Far East. Between 1856 and 1860, he forced the weak Chinese government to surrender to him all the land on the left bank of the Amur River. In 1860, Russians moved across the Amur and began to construct the port and naval base of Vladivostok.

In central Asia, the imperialistic ambitions of Alexander drove him to war on the Kazakh and Kirghy nomads who lived east of the Caspian Sea and north of Persia. Between 1865 and 1876, Russian troops conquered the Moslem kingdoms of Khiva, Bokhara and Kokand, and added them to the Russian empire. These wars deepened the suspicions of the British, who saw the

great Russian empire moving steadily closer to their holdings in India.

The Russians went to war against Turkey again in 1877. Pan-Slavism, the idea of protecting the Slavs in the Balkan areas still under Turkish control, and the dream of possessing Constantinople and the Straits, led to the Russo-Turkish war. The Russians were successful, and the Treaty of San Stefano (March, 1878) gave them dominant voices in the newly created state of Bulgaria which bordered on the Aegean Sea. Russian troops occupied Bulgaria for several years, strengthening Russian influence in that part of the world. Britain and Austria-Hungary protested, and forced Russia to submit the Bulgaria-Turkish dispute to an international conference, held in Berlin in 1878. The Treaty of Berlin replaced the Treaty of San Stefano, and its provisions greatly curbed Russia's influence. Austria-Hungary and Britain acquired territory (Bosnia-Herzegovina and Cyprus, respectively), although they had not even fought in the war. Alexander was very angry over these provisions; as a result, hatred between his country and both Britain and Austria-Hungary was intensified.

Cultural Achievements. Despite all that censorship could do to stifle creative thought and imagination, the reign of Alexander II was marked by great intellectual, artistic and scientific achievements. The most famous and admired writers were Ivan Turgenev, Leo Tolstoy, Feodor Dostoevsky and the historian, Kliuchevsky. Russian science made spectacular progress with the biological studies of Elie Metchnikov, the physiological researches of Ivan Pavlov and the achievements in chemistry of Dmitri Mendeleyev. Music reached high levels through the works of Modest Moussorgsky, Alexander Borodin, Nicholas Rimsky-Korsakov and Peter Ilich Tchaikovsky. And always there were the social theorists, the political prophets and teachers, and the apostles of revolution.

Revolutionary Movements of the 19th Century. This revolutionary unrest did not come from either the peasants or the workers. The former were illiterate and too deeply steeped in

superstitious awe of the czar. The latter were too few and unorganized. The impulse for change came from the handful of dedicated upper- and middle-class writers, teachers, doctors, lawyers and artists. Most of them wanted a more democratic government under which all citizens could enjoy individual freedom and human dignity. Some wanted a republic; others were willing to retain the czar, but wanted to have a constitution and a representative form of government.

One relatively weak and unorganized reform movement was "nihilism," which attracted many young people. The name "nihilist" was first used by the writer Turgenev for those who "accept nothing." Nihilists believed that the individual must be freed from all responsibilities for his family, church, and government; in fact, those institutions must be destroyed. The nihilists accepted nothing on faith and bowed to no authority. Most of them wasted their energies in fruitless talk; a few joined terroristic groups such as "The People's Will," which was pledged to assassinate the czar and his leading officials.

The *Narodniks* were a "go-to-the-people" movement. Groups of young intellectuals went to live in the villages to preach the gospel of revolution to the peasants. They worked as farmers, as doctors, as nurses, as skilled workers, and tried to convert the peasants to their philosophy by helping to improve their working and living conditions. They achieved little immediate success. To most of the peasants, these young people seemed to be exotic foreigners. The government ordered their mass arrest.

Spread of Industrialism. Russian industry had begun to advance during the reign of Nicholas I (1825-1855). Factories slowly multiplied and, by 1855, there were more than one half million factory workers. The first railroad in Russia was opened, in 1837; five years later a line to connect Moscow and St. Petersburg was begun. Foreign capital was invested in Russia in increasing amounts. In all these advances, the government played a large role, financing the construction of railroads through loans from Russians and foreigners. The most important figure in railroad expansion was Sergei Witte, who served as Minister of Finance from 1892 to 1903. He is most often

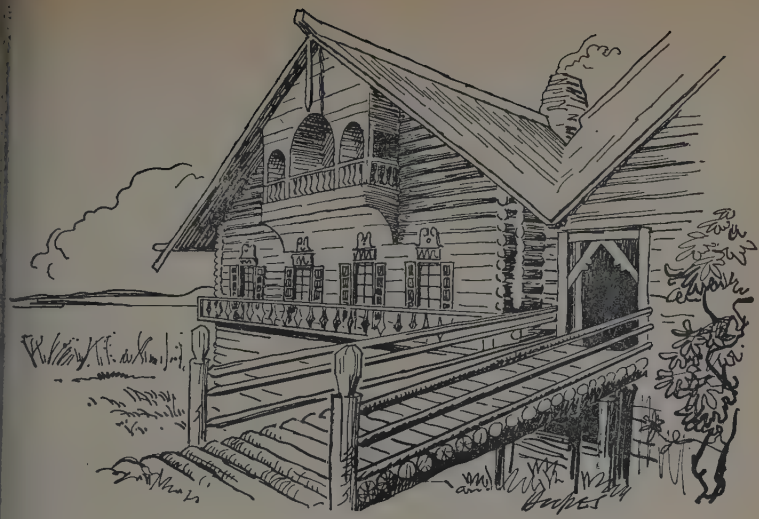
remembered as the builder of the 6000-mile Trans-Siberian Railroad which connected Moscow in European Russia to Vladivostok on the Pacific Ocean. This, the longest railroad in the world, was a tremendous achievement.

Other industries besides railroading expanded, marking the coming of the Industrial Revolution to Russia. Metallurgy was concentrated in St. Petersburg; textiles in St. Petersburg, Moscow and Lodz; oil in Baku; naval construction and merchant shipping in the Black Sea ports; iron and steel in the Donets Basin. The million and a half workers in these factories were paid low wages, and their living and working conditions were very bad, so they were ready to join the unions and go on strike to bring about improvements.

Alexander III (1881-1894). In March, 1881, a bomb killed Alexander II as he was returning from a military parade. The assassination of his father convinced Alexander III that liberalism was the worst possible path to follow. He was determined to crush all opposition. His two chief officials, Plehve, head of the secret police, and Pobiedonostrev, head of the Orthodox Church, inflicted severe penalties on any who preached reform or revolution.

The czar encouraged his officials to follow a policy of "Russification." He wanted the highest possible uniformity in language, culture and religion to exist in his empire. Catholic Poles, Lutheran Finns and Jews were repressed. The Finnish constitution was ended, in 1889; the Jews were the victims of various pogroms (organized massacres of helpless people). Hundreds were killed, and thousands more fled to the United States.

The lot of the peasants grew steadily worse. Their number had increased from 50 million in 1860 to 79 million in 1897, and the size of a family land holding shrank steadily. The peasants contributed about $\frac{5}{6}$ of the state revenues in indirect taxation and poll taxes. Some peasants became relatively prosperous because they were able to buy sufficient land, hire additional laborers and use improved methods of farming. Less fortunate peasants became more and more jealous. A disastrous famine in 1891-1892 caused thousands of deaths.



Russian carpenters spoke of "cutting" rather than building a house. This country chalet, built of rough logs, had a ramp leading to the hayloft. The ground floor housed livestock.

Alexander III introduced some reforms. Redemption payments, which the peasants found more and more difficult to meet, were reduced, in 1882. A Peasants' Bank was established in 1884 to help peasants buy more land on credit. The poll tax was abolished, lightening the tax load a little; but there still was no solution to the peasant problem.

Growing Unrest. Alexander III died in 1894 and was succeeded by his son, Nicholas II, who was the last of the Romanov rulers. He was incapable of dealing with the serious domestic problems that grew out of the working class movement, the continuing decline of the peasants' position, and the spread of new revolutionary parties.

Underground opposition to the czarist regime came from the Social-Revolutionary Party, the heirs of the *Narodniks,* organized as a party in 1900-1902. Social Revolutionaries favored common ownership of all the land, which would be distributed on the basis of what the individual peasant needed. They also

favored the right of self-determination for all the national minorities, and terrorism as a policy.

The Social Democrats followed the doctrine of Karl Marx (see page 77). Many Social Democrats believed that Russia had to be industrialized before a socialist revolution could take place. After industrialization would come the overthrow of the czar and then a proletarian Communist state.

One of the leaders of this party was Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov, who adopted the name of Lenin. In a book written in 1902, called *What Is To Be Done?* Lenin outlined a worker revolution. He urged the formation of a compact, strongly centralized party, membership in which would be limited to active revolutionaries. This small group of leaders would make all important decisions. Lenin's ideas were supported by a majority of the party and they called themselves "Bolsheviks" (majority). Those who disagreed with Lenin were called "Mensheviks" (minority). Oddly enough, the followers of Lenin lost their majority position in the party, but they kept their name.

The early 1900's in Russia were marked by agrarian riots, industrial decline, and renewed terrorism. Despite the fact that strikes were forbidden, they grew more frequent and were accompanied by demands for political reforms.

The terrorist killing of the Minister of Education and the Minister of the Interior, in 1903-1904, was followed by increased spy activity and the arrest, imprisonment and exile of many leaders of the revolutionary movements.

F. THE REVOLUTION OF 1905

The discontent caused by the Russo-Japanese War and the resulting strikes and mutinies are referred to as the Revolution of 1905.

The Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905). Nicholas' determination to expand Russian influence in the Chinese province of Manchuria led him into war with Japan. He expected that the

war would unite all groups behind the government. A faint stir of popular enthusiasm died out as Russian disasters piled up. Russian armies suffered crushing defeats at the Yalu River and at Mukden, and the Russian navy was destroyed at the battle of Tsushima Straits. The Treaty of Portsmouth (1905) that ended the war gave the southern half of Sakhalin Island to Japan and made Russia yield its position in Manchuria.

Long before the war had ended, Russia was gripped by revolution. News of Russian defeats touched off an increasingly loud clamor for freedom of speech and assembly, agrarian reform, new industrial legislation, and, most of all, an elected national assembly.

Bloody Sunday. On January 22, 1905, a priest, Father Gapon, led thousands of unarmed workers to the Winter Palace to lay their requests before the czar in person. When the crowd reached the palace, troops opened fire. Hundreds of marchers were killed and thousands were injured. The reaction throughout the country was immediate. Peasant revolts broke out in many places. Strikes increased, affecting factories, railroads, even universities. In St. Petersburg, workers established the first "Soviet (council) of Workers' Deputies," which demanded immediate political reform. The violence of the peasant uprisings and the seizure of private estates in the autumn of 1905 shattered the confidence of the government that it could restore order without making political concessions. A general strike broke out in St. Petersburg, and a railroad strike paralyzed the whole country.

The October Manifesto. On October 30, the czar issued an imperial manifesto in which he promised freedom of speech and the press and the calling of a *duma,* a lawmaking body which would be elected by popular vote. While the manifesto referred to the czar as the "supreme autocratic power," it satisfied many liberal reformers. The principle of representative government had been established. The St. Petersburg Soviet was broken up by the police. The loyalty of the army to the czar proved to be very important and law and order were gradually restored throughout the empire.

Several parties supported candidates in the *duma* election: the Constitutional Democrats (Cadets), who favored a wider form of parliamentary government with workers' and peasants' reforms; the Octobrists, who were content with the gains in the Manifesto; the Social Democrats and the Social Revolutionaries.

The men elected as representatives to the first two *dumas* were liberals—generally in opposition to the government. The czar, who had received a tremendous loan from France, did not need to rely on the *duma* for financial support; therefore, when disagreements arose between himself and its members, he dismissed the *duma*. Revised voting requirements reduced the number of liberal members in the elections of the next two *dumas*. Both the Third *Duma* (1907-1912) and the Fourth *Duma* (1912-1917) served out their full terms. In 1906, the czar chose Peter Stolypin (1863-1911) as his prime minister. Stolypin was a conservative and a compromiser. Despite his efforts to steer a middle course, he was assassinated in 1911.

Many reforms were adopted during the decade following the failure of the 1905 revolution. Redemption dues were cancelled, and peasants were permitted to own their own lands, instead of having them under communal or village ownership. By 1914, peasants owned three-quarters of all the arable land in European Russia and their standards of living rose as agrarian reforms were introduced. A law of 1908 provided for universal education and, by 1914, 50 per cent of school-age children were attending school. Health and accident insurance plans were adopted. Industrial expansion provided more jobs at higher wages. Russian life became freer and more comfortable.

G. THE REVOLUTION OF 1917

Russia in World War I (1914-1917). Russia entered the war against Germany with an apparently united people behind the government. However, the armies suffered a series of military defeats, especially a disaster at Tannenburg (1915). The inefficiency of the military leaders and the inadequacies of the Russian transportation system made things worse. There were serious

Rasputin, the shrewd, shaggy, Siberian peasant.

shortages of guns and ammunition. Sometimes reserve troops in the front lines had no rifles until they could use those of their wounded or dead comrades. Gradually the defeats undermined the morale of the army, and the food shortages weakened the morale of the civilian population.

The weak and impractical Nicholas II could not deal with these disasters. He was much influenced by his wife, Alexandra, who was determined to preserve the autocratic government at all costs. She, in turn, was under the influence of the ignorant and evil Rasputin, a Siberian "holy man." He exercised great power over her because of his seeming ability to stop her only son's hemophilic bleeding. In 1915, the czar took personal command of the armies, leaving the empress and Rasputin to run the government. Able ministers were dismissed, and some resigned because they could not work with Rasputin. A group of high nobles assassinated Rasputin, in 1916, but faith in the czar's government could not be reestablished.

The March Revolution. In March, 1917, completely unorganized revolution finally broke out in Russia. In Petrograd (St. Petersburg had been so renamed in 1914 because it sounded

more Russian) food riots began as women stood in line at bakers' shops, seeking bread and finding none. This set off a series of strikes as the workers in Petrograd factories demanded food. Nicholas ordered the city garrison to break up these riots; the soldiers refused, and joined the demonstrators and strikers. The Fourth *Duma,* in session, set up a committee to organize the revolt and a Soviet of workers' and soldiers' deputies was set up by the striking workers and fraternizing soldiers. On March 14, the *Duma* announced a provisional government with Prince Lvov as premier, and the following day, the czar abdicated.

The provisional government was weak from the very beginning. Its best known member and premier, Alexander Kerensky, was a Social Revolutionary. He favored the orderly development of a Western type of government that offered civil liberties and voting rights to the people. In the meantime, he proposed that Russia remain in the war against Germany.

Growth of Bolshevik Power. In April, 1917, Lenin, leader of the Bolsheviks, returned to Russia from exile in Switzerland. He agitated for socialism and urged "all power to the soviets." The goal, he said, was "peace, land and bread." He addressed his appeal to the army, to the peasants, and to workers threatened with famine.

At the war front and in the rear, in the capital and in all the industrial and provincial centers, the propaganda for peace and proletarian power increased. In Petrograd and elsewhere factories were seized and put under workers' control. In the countryside, the lands of nobles and rich landowners were seized. Soldiers deserted and miiitary discipline broke down.

November Revolution. On November 7, 1917, an all-Russia Congress of Soviets was to meet. That morning, the Bolsheviks seized control of the principal buildings in Petrograd, including the Winter Palace, where Kerensky's government was meeting. With very little opposition, ministers were arrested; soldiers and workers controlled the city. Bolsheviks acted in other large cities and communication centers. Only in Moscow did they

meet resistance, which was quickly crushed. The Bolsheviks won instant power.

That evening, the Congress of Soviets met, set up a new government, appointed a "Council of People's Commissars" with Lenin as chairman, Leon Trotsky as commissar of foreign affairs, and Joseph Stalin as commissar of nationalities. A "Central Executive Committee" was also elected, with a majority of Bolsheviks. It issued two decrees; the first appealed to the peoples of all countries at war to begin immediate negotiations for a just and democratic peace without annexations or indemnities. The other abolished all private ownership of land and put the land in the charge of peasant soviets, until a final decision could be reached.

Civil War (1917-1921). As soon as Lenin strengthened his control over the government, he opened negotiations with Germany so he could withdraw Russia from the war. The stern Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (1918) cost Russia much territory. Poland, Finland, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia were recognized as independent. The Ukraine was added to Germany, and parts of the Caucasus to Turkey. The territory of Russia was reduced by over one million square miles and more than 60 million people. Huge indemnities of grain and other produce were to be paid to Germany.

Despite the treaty, the war did not really end. Russia's former allies, Britain, France, Japan and the United States, sent in troops to prevent the supplies they had delivered to Russia from falling into the hands of the Germans. In addition to these foreign troops, there were also Russian soldiers opposed to the Bolsheviks. These "Whites," as they were called, because they opposed the "Red" Bolsheviks, were supported by army officers, aristocrats, the upper and middle classes and many non-Russian nationalities. The execution of the czar and his family in July, 1918, added fuel to the fires of opposition to the Bolsheviks.

For three years, a civil war raged in Russia. The White armies attacked the Bolsheviks' forces in various places. Trotsky organized the Red Army and pressed it on to victory against what had appeared to be overwhelming odds. The Red armies de-

feated all enemies, foreign and domestic, and finally brought peace to Russia in 1921.

QUESTIONS AND ACTIVITIES

MULTIPLE CHOICE TEST

In each of the following, you have three choices. Choose the only correct answer.

1. The legendary Viking founder of Russia was *(a)* Ivan, *(b)* Rurik, *(c)* Peter.
2. The first capital of the Russian people was *(a)* Moscow, *(b)* Rostov, *(c)* Kiev.
3. Much of Russia was conquered in the 13th century by the Mongols led by *(a)* Batu Khan, *(b)* Genghis Khan, *(c)* Timurlane.
4. Mongol rule in Russia was ended by *(a)* Ivan III, *(b)* Ivan IV, *(c)* Peter the Great.
5. The ruling family in Russia from the 17th to the 20th centuries was named *(a)* Hohenzollern, *(b)* Windsor, *(c)* Romanov.
6. Ivan IV *(a)* expanded his country westward against the Poles and Swedes, *(b)* conquered the Volga valley, *(c)* acquired a warm water port.
7. The "time of troubles" in Russian history refers to *(a)* the invasion of Russia by Napoleon, *(b)* the defeat of Russia in the Crimean War, *(c)* the civil war among many claimants to the Russian throne.
8. A new capital for Russia in the 18th century was built by *(a)* Ivan the Great, *(b)* Peter the Great, *(c)* Catherine the Great.
9. Serfdom was ended in Russia by *(a)* Alexander I, *(b)* Alexander II, *(c)* Alexander III.
10. "The Charge of the Light Brigade" is associated with *(a)* the Crimean War, *(b)* Napoleon's invasion of Russia, *(c)* the Russo-Japanese War.
11. The major part of Poland, divided in successive partitions, went to *(a)* Prussia, *(b)* Austria, *(c)* Russia.
12. Pugachev was a Cossack leader who *(a)* led a peasant revolt against Catherine, *(b)* opened up Siberia to Russian conquests, *(c)* conquered the Golden Horde.
13. Alexander I organized *(a)* the Quadruple Alliance, *(b)* the Holy Alliance, *(c)* the League of the Three Emperors.

14. The Decembrist Revolt of 1825 aimed to *(a)* free the serfs, *(b)* set up a republic under a written constitution, *(c)* crush the nobles.
15. The great demand of the peasants after emancipation was *(a)* greater personal freedom, *(b)* free education, *(c)* more land.
16. The Trans-Siberian railroad connected Moscow with *(a)* Vladivostok, *(b)* St. Petersburg, *(c)* Kiev.
17. The policy of Russification followed by the czars is best expressed in the phrase *(a)* "Equality for all," *(b)* "One Czar, One Language, One Church," *(c)* "Down with the Soviets."
18. The majority group in the Social Democratic Party in pre-war Russia was called *(a)* Mensheviks, *(b)* Narodniks, *(c)* Bolsheviks.
19. The Revolution of 1905 was brought on by *(a)* the defeats suffered by Russia in its war with Japan, *(b)* the willingness of the czar to grant constitutional reform, *(c)* the disloyalty of the army.
20. The great majority of the Russian people were members of the *(a)* Greek Orthodox, *(b)* Roman Catholic, *(c)* Lutheran religion.
21. The last Romanov ruler of Russia was *(a)* Nicholas I, *(b)* Nicholas II, *(c)* Alexander III.
22. Under Peter the Great, Russia *(a)* became a great industrial power, *(b)* was completely westernized, *(c)* acquired territory from Sweden.
23. Russian village communities were called *(a) mirs, (b) zemstovs, (c) streltsi.*
24. Russian governments since the 13th century have *(a)* been governed by the same family, *(b)* had a secret police to maintain law and order, *(c)* favored isolation for their country.
25. A *duma* is a Russian *(a)* parliament, *(b)* church leader, *(c)* writer.
26. The first Russian revolution of 1917 *(a)* created Bolshevik rule, *(b)* overthrew the czar, *(c)* led to the withdrawal of Russia from the war.
27. Pogroms were *(a)* organized massacres of helpless people, *(b)* Russian peasant leaders, *(c)* foreign invaders of Russia.
28. The Mongol invaders of the 13th century came from *(a)* Europe, *(b)* the central plains of China, *(c)* India.
29. Lenin's slogan, in 1917, was *(a)* "land, peace, bread," *(b)* "make the world safe for democracy," *(c)* "death to the soviets."
30. Rasputin was a Russian monk who *(a)* became head of the Greek Orthodox Church, *(b)* had great influence over the royal family in the 20th century, *(c)* was opposed to the spread of church reform.

KEY WORDS AND NAMES

Can you explain or identify each of the following words, names or phrases? Use a dictionary or your encyclopedia if necessary.

Varangians
Rurik
Yaroslav the Wise
Cyrillic
Golden Horde
Prince Alexander Nevsky
"Ivan Kalita"
Ivan the Terrible
Ivan the Great
boyar
"third Rome"
oprichniks
Yermak
duma
October Manifesto
Rasputin
Prince Lvov
Alexander Kerensky
Treaty of Brest-Litovsk
Mensheviks
"Bloody Sunday"
soviet
Michael Romanov
Stephen Razin
Holy Synod
Pugachev
Treaty of Tilsit
Holy Alliance
Decembrist Revolt
Third Section
Crimean War
mir
redemption dues
zemstov
Treaty of San Stefano
nihilism
Narodniks
Count Sergei Witte
Social Revolutionaries
Social Democrats
Bolsheviks

WHO AM I?

Below are brief descriptions of famous people in Russian history. Can you tell who is described? The answers are in the list of names below.

Batu Khan	Ivan III	Boris Godunov
Cyril	Catherine the Great	Michael
Peter the Great	Rurik	Pugachev
Alexander II	Alexander I	Nicholas II

1. I was a Viking leader, the traditional founder of Russia.
2. I introduced the Greek Orthodox religion into Russia, and developed the alphabet still used there today.
3. I was the Mongol conqueror of 13th-century Russia.
4. I was the first Czar of Russia and I ended the rule of the Mongols.
5. I was the first of the Romanov rulers of Russia.
6. I began the westernization of Russia and built a new capital on the shores of the Baltic Sea.

7. I led a peasant revolt against Catherine the Great.
8. At first I was an ally of Napoleon, then turned on him and helped to bring about his defeat.
9. I was the last of the Romanov rulers of Russia, and was overthrown in 1917.
10. I ended serfdom in my country.

A MATCHING GAME

Can you match the names with the identification?

Column I	Column II
1. Boris Godunov	*a.* Czar, the subject of a famous opera by Moussorgsky
2. Nicholas II	*b.* Swedish king, defeated by Peter the Great
3. Yaroslav the Wise	*c.* Prince of Kiev, whose children were married to European rulers
4. Catherine the Great	*d.* Organizer of the Holy Alliance
5. Sergei Witte	*e.* Led Russia into the Crimean War
6. Ivan IV	*f.* Cruel and absolute ruler
7. Charles XII	*g.* Foreign-born ruler of Russia
8. Plehve	*h.* Head of secret police under Alexander III
9. Nicholas I	*i.* Minister of Finance under Nicholas I
10. Alexander I	*j.* Conquered by the Mongols
	k. Executed by the Bolsheviks

TRUE OR FALSE

Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Give reasons for your answer.

1. The emancipation of the serfs, in 1861, solved the land question for the peasants.
2. "Generals Mud and Winter" were effective allies against Napoleon's armies.
3. Mongol rule in Russia left few traces of civilization or customs.
4. Peter the Great deserves the title because of the many changes he introduced into Russia.
5. Ivan III was the first great ruler of Russia.
6. Nicholas I was a firm believer in European learning and customs.
7. The Crimean War was a catastrophe for Russia.

8. The industrialization of Russia avoided the evils which other countries had experienced.
9. The Revolution of 1905 was a success.
10. Russia became a limited constitutional government by peaceful means.

THINGS TO DO

1. Compare Russia's emancipation of the serfs with the abolition of slavery in the United States. Note *(a)* the events that led up to each act; *(b)* the provisions of each; *(c)* the results, indicating similarities and dissimilarities. Consult an American history textbook for the *Emancipation Proclamation*.
2. Prepare a five-minute talk on each of the following, bringing out his relationship to the period in which he lived: Ivan III, Stephen Razin, Father Gapon, Rasputin, Alexander Kerensky.
3. Play a recording of Tchaikovsky's *1812 Overture* in class, and explain the composer's reasons for selecting this theme.
4. Investigate Russia's "time of troubles" in the early 17th century, and report to the class on the reasons for its occurrence, the chief events, and the outcome.
5. Prepare oral reports on *(a)* Mongol rule in Russia; *(b)* the building of St. Petersburg; *(c)* Peter the Great's travels in Europe; *(d)* Napoleon's invasion of Russia; *(e)* the work of Count Sergei Witte; *(f)* the growth of industry in the 19th century; *(g)* "Bloody Sunday," 1905; *(h)* the naval battle of Tsushima Straits.
6. Develop a bulletin board display of pictures about Russian history and life before the Communist take-over.
7. Draw a map showing the gradual expansion of Russia between the 13th and 17th centuries.
8. Make a poster illustrating several of the important events that took place in Russia between the 13th and 17th centuries. (Hints: a burning city, an Oriental standing over a Russian, the building of a city. What events do these hints call to your mind? Think of others.)

Chapter 3

COMMUNIST PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICES

The term *communism,* as we know it today, was first used in 1847, when a group of German political exiles in Brussels, Belgium, organized a Communist League. They asked two of their members, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, to draw up a declaration of principles and policies for their group. The two wrote and published *The Communist Manifesto* in the following year. Marx and Engels drew their ideas from various sources: from the writings of ancient and medieval authors who wrote plans for so-called "ideal societies," from the English and French "Utopian Socialists" of the early 19th century, and from the early anarchists with their policies of terror and destruction.

A. FORERUNNERS OF COMMUNISM

Throughout history, writers and thinkers have searched for ways to create a perfect society in which there would be happiness and well-being for all.

Plato (5th century B.C.), a Greek philosopher, wrote about an ideal state in his *Republic.* He favored the formation of small states, ruled by the educated elite, in which there would be no private property; everything would be owned in common by everybody. There would be complete communal living (no family relations). Everybody would work for the state, doing the job for which he was best suited and trained—either ruling, protecting, or working. Everyone would receive a fair share of what was produced.

Sir Thomas More (16th century), an English statesman and writer, wrote a book called *Utopia.* This word comes from the Greek and means "no place"; that is, "a place that does not

exist, but is an ideal state." In this book he described an imaginary, perfect island community with common ownership of property. Everybody would work; all wealth would be shared; and there would be no poverty. Every individual would have the right to improve his status and position, for there would be equality of opportunity for all.

Utopian Socialists (Early 1800's). Two French philosophers, Claude Henri Saint-Simon and Charles Fourier, proposed the establishment of ideal communities, limited in size (Fourier suggested between 1600 and 2000 members) in which there would be no private property. The production of all material goods, such as food, clothing and shelter, would be managed by the community itself. The goods thus produced would be distributed among all the people according to some principle of equitable division.

Robert Owen (1771-1858), a rich English factory owner, established a model community in which all property was owned by the group, and each member worked at the trade or occupation for which he was best suited. Each member drew from the common store according to his needs. In his factory village at New Lanark, Scotland, he limited the working hours of his employees, built schools for their children, provided adequate housing, and established rules and regulations regarding morals and conduct. Owen set up several such cooperative societies in Ireland and at New Harmony, Indiana, in the United States. However, these all failed.

Pierre J. Proudhon (1809-1865). This Frenchman was one of the earliest anarchists; *anarchy* means "no government." In his book, *What Is Property?* he answered this question by stating that "property is theft!" He protested against all forms of government, claiming "the less government, the better will be society." He favored the abolition of private property, which he thought brings about the enslavement of society.

Mikhail Bakunin (1814-1876), a Russian anarchist, urged the use of terror and violence to bring about the end of govern-

ment and prepare the way for the new society that would be formed after government, church, and private property were destroyed.

* * *

As we become familiar with the ideas and philosophy of Karl Marx, we will see how the following were all drawn by Marx from the writings of the people mentioned above: (1) the abolition of private property; (2) the importance of the community or the state over the individual; (3) the rule of government by a select few; and (4) the use of force and terror to accomplish goals.

In later years, Karl Marx thought that all the efforts to achieve an ideal and perfect state were unrealistic and impractical. They could never succeed, Marx believed, when the desire for change came "from above" (namely, the few rich people interested). It must come "from below"—from the many who were oppressed by the intolerable working and living conditions associated with the industrialization that was taking place in Europe during this period.

B. THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF MARXISM

Karl Marx (1818-1883), the man who gave his name to the doctrine, was born in the town of Trier, in what is now West Germany. He came from a well-to-do middle-class family, and received an excellent education in law, history, and philosophy. He earned a Doctor of Philosophy degree from the University of Jena in 1841. The next year he became one of the editors of a radical Rhineland paper and studied the socialist theories then being talked about in Europe. When the paper was suppressed by the government, he went to Paris, where he met Friedrich Engels, son of a rich textile manufacturer. The two men worked together for the rest of their lives.

Europe at this time was going through the Industrial Revolution. The miserable conditions under which workers worked and lived, their long hours and low wages, the large numbers of women and children who competed with men for work, and the repeated threats of unemployment, made a lasting impression on

Marx. In 1848, together with Engels as co-author, Marx wrote *The Communist Manifesto*. This important book summarized the main ideas of Marxism. It begins with the oft-quoted words: "A specter is haunting Europe—the specter of communism" (this, in 1848!), and ends with "Workers of the world, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains!" The book is a bitterly critical description of the changes taking place in human lives and society as a result of industrialization.

The year 1848 was a year of revolutions in many European countries. Marx had been forced to leave Paris and then Brussels by government order because of his newspaper work. He spent the rest of his life in London, where he compiled notes in the library of the British Museum for his monumental *Capital* (in German, *Das Kapital*). In this book he enlarged the *Manifesto* and predicted the downfall of capitalism. His criticisms were based on (1) official charges made by British factory inspectors on the terrible conditions they found in the places they visited, and (2) the reports of parliamentary commissions investigating these charges. *Capital,* published in three volumes, has become the Bible of communism, and is one of the most important books ever written. Its influence on the development and spread of communism, first in Russia and then in other countries of the world, is immeasurable.

The most important of Marx's principles are as follows:

1. historical or dialectical materialism
2. the class struggle
3. the labor theory of value—surplus value
4. the inevitability of communism
5. the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Let us examine each of these.

Dialectical Materialism. This is the method by which Marx attempted to explain all of human history. The word *dialectic* means "an argument" or "debate." *Materialism* refers to the belief that all reality is matter—everything that we can comprehend through our five senses, such as a tool, a loaf of bread, or an automobile. Marx believed that man's life is based on material things, which depend on the production and distribution of

goods. Therefore, material changes in life will bring about all other kinds of changes—political, social, intellectual, even cultural.

Marx was influenced by the ideas of a German philosopher, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831), who believed that everything in the world is constantly changing, and that social and historical changes take place through a conflict of opposing ideas. One idea—the *thesis*—comes into conflict with its opposite—the *antithesis*. Out of this conflict comes a resolution of the best features of both in a *synthesis*. Thus, thesis, antithesis, and synthesis help to explain change.

Marx believed that it is not a conflict of ideas but of material or economic factors that brings about change. Man's material surroundings determine everything in his life. Each society's laws, politics, religion, and morality developed chiefly out of the production and distribution of material goods. Marx regarded this as the constant factor that decides the course of all human history.

In Marx's interpretation of history, there have been five basic types of society: (1) primitive tribal society; (2) slaveowning society; (3) feudal system; (4) capitalist system; and (5) socialist system. For each of these, Marx asked, "Who owns the means of production? Who exploits (takes advantage of) whom?" In a primitive society, the means of production are owned by all, and there is practically no private property. In the next three societies, the means of production are privately owned by the slaveowner, by the feudal lord, by the capitalist. This divides society into classes, and leads to the exploitation of one class by another, and to revolutionary change.

The Class Struggle. "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles," wrote Marx, in *The Communist Manifesto*. In every period of the past, one class has struggled against another—slave against master, feudal serf against feudal lord, and factory worker against capitalist employer. The owning or ruling class which controls the sources of all wealth or the means of production—slaves, land, machines—has all the power. This class sets up a political system to protect its eco-

nomic interests and to continue its power. Governments are created to do the bidding of this ruling class, which passes laws to preserve its privileges and protect its special position. Moral values and religious beliefs are invented by the ruling class to take the minds of the oppressed and exploited classes off their miserable lot on earth, to make them submit to the rule imposed on them, and work to the limit of their ability. "Religion," said Marx, "is the opiate of the masses." It fools them into thinking that life on earth compared to an afterlife is not important. The worker must become aware of the conflict that is ever present between exploiter and exploited.

Marx believed that a revolutionary conflict would develop between the capitalists (thesis) and proletariat (antithesis). This conflict would inevitably be resolved into a new political and social system (synthesis) called communism. This could take place only by violent revolution, Marx thought, for no ruling class gives up its power and position without a fight. In this struggle, Marx said, the ruling class must inevitably lose. Why must it lose? Because in any society after a while, newer and more efficient methods of production make the existing economic system outdated. When slave labor became unprofitable, it yielded to feudalism. When the feudal system could no longer satisfy the growing commercial and manufacturing demands of society, the feudal societies had to yield to more efficient methods of production. Thus, feudalism won out in the conflict between slavery and feudalism. The capitalists who overthrew the landowners won in the struggle between feudalism and capitalism.

Thus, Marx explains the downfall of the Roman Empire, as well as the failure of the English and French Revolutions of the 17th and 18th centuries.

Theory of Surplus Value. According to Marx's labor theory of value, the value of a product is determined by the amount of labor necessary to produce it. But a man's labor can produce more than is required for his subsistence. The difference between what the worker receives as wages for what he produces and what the capitalist receives from its sale (which is always larger) is the *surplus value* or *extra value*. From this come the profits,

rents, and interest payments that enrich the capitalist class. In effect, Marx said, the capitalist is "stealing" this surplus value from the worker, to whom it should go because it is he who has created it. Marx conceded that the capitalist is not consciously a thief; he considered "stealing" an essential of capitalism.

The worker received enough wages to keep himself alive and working, to pay his rent, to feed himself and his family and to buy needed clothes. If he required $60 a week to supply his needs, he could produce that amount of value in 25 hours. But he could not work just 25 hours and then stop. He had to work the hours set by the employer—as much as 80 hours a week in Marx's time. The extra hours of labor were surplus value to the employer. The more the worker produced, the richer the capitalist became.

Inevitability of Communism. How does the exploited worker turn into a revolutionary? Marx explained this process by three steps. First, *capitalist accumulation* develops from increasing competition among factory owners. In order to outsell his competitors, the capitalist introduces labor-saving devices, cuts his prices and profits, and reduces wages. In these ways he accumulates more surplus value, and the worker becomes further exploited. As more workers are replaced by machines, unemployment grows. The employer's profits increase as the workers, looking for jobs, must work for lower wages.

The increasing competition among capitalists forces the less able out of business. Capitalists become fewer and fewer. To defend their interests, they create powerful trusts and monopolies —organizations concentrating enormous wealth. This is the second step in the Marxian explanation, that of the *concentration of wealth* in fewer and fewer hands.

Because of the introduction of labor-saving devices, the *supply* of workers is larger than the *demand* for workers. More workers compete for fewer jobs and accept lower wages. An army of unemployed workers grows. In this state of *increasing misery*, the third step in the Marxian analysis, brought about by the capitalist system, man reaches the lowest limits of suffering and has, in Marx's words, "nothing to lose but his chains."

When thesis and antithesis clash—the workers turn into revolutionaries and rise against the exploiting capitalists. This is the socialist revolution.

Dictatorship of the Proletariat. The victorious workers then take control of the means of production and distribution—all the factories, the railroads, the mines, and the farms. Private property is abolished. Although the capitalists may fight back, the workers who overwhelmingly outnumber them, crush the capitalists. The new state, the *dictatorship of the proletariat,* (the working class) is then in control.

This "dictatorship" would not be oppressive; the conditions that created conflict and oppression would have been removed. Since the working class controls the productive capacity taken over from the capitalists, it would be able to satisfy the needs of everyone. With his physical desires fulfilled, man would be free to develop all his inner capacities for good and his natural instincts for art, poetry, music. Life would have as its goal "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs." Since there would be no longer a need for government, for law, for religion, "the state would wither away and disappear." Under the dictatorship of the proletariat there would be no need for money, because everyone would be permitted to take what he or she would want from the public storehouses containing the goods produced by all. Crime and vice would disappear because they are symptoms of a class society where men are exploited by capitalists. Why would man work? According to Marx, the sheer pleasure derived from his productive efforts would be enough to induce man to work.

Ultimately, as the people were educated to this new way of life, there would be no need for a government and it would gradually "wither away." The ultimate state of Marx's philosophy was anarchy (no government).

C. HOW RIGHT WAS MARX?

Karl Marx occupies an important position in the history of the world, but not because of what he said would happen. His

ny of looking at society in terms of how people produce goods
d earn a living gave rise to new ways of thought among those
no came after him. His beliefs are being analyzed, even sub-
ribed to, by historians, political scientists, sociologists, psy-
ologists, and artists. In this sense, Marx made a contribution
Western thought. Closer examination, however, indicates
rious errors, oversights, or inadequate analysis in his chief
eas about the capitalist system he pictured so vividly.

Let us look more closely at these principles.

ialectical Materialism. It would be nice to believe that the
story of mankind has shown steady progress from a lower to
higher society aimed at achieving the ultimate in human happi-
ss. But man, it seems, has moved two steps forward and then a
ep backward. Were the Dark Ages after the collapse of Rome
tter than the classical societies of Greece and Rome? How
as feudalism better than a slave economy?

The economic organization of a society is not the only deter-
ining factor. Societies differ; they do not all fit into the same
old. Their historical background, natural resources, geographi-
l location, and religious influences all differ.

Nor do all societies pass through the same stages, as Marx
aims. Many of the newly independent states in Africa and
sia do not fit into his scheme of development: from tribe to
aveholder to feudal lord to capitalist.

Marx overlooks other basic reasons besides the control of the
eans of production and distribution to explain the actions of
en. He ignores the love of power, as seen in the dictators
ulius Caesar and Adolf Hitler. He overlooks another powerful
otive for human action in the desire for independence, as seen
the national movements in the African states.

When nationalism—loyalty and devotion to one's country—
lashed with socialism during World War I, which won? The
ocialist parties in the different countries *supported* their national
overnments when war broke out in 1914. This showed that
e working classes thought of themselves first as Germans, or
rench, or British, rather than as members of an international
orking-class organization.

Class Struggle. Marx's view of the conflict between worker an capitalist was oversimplified. This conflict did not bring abo the disappearance of the middle class. Workers have organiz trade unions and through them have been able to wo increasingly on a cooperative basis. The workers' position h not become weaker. Through strong unions, collective bargai ing, and legislation, workers have brought the opposing forc into better balance. The capitalist has seen the benefits of coo erating with his workers instead of engaging in a deadly strugg to exploit him. Since the worker is also a consumer, his increase prosperity creates bigger markets for goods, leading to high profits for the capitalist. This leads also to a better standard living for the worker, and a lessening, not a widening, of t gap between the two classes.

Surplus Value. Economists today ask: "If labor is the on source of profit (as Marx claimed) why do capitalists want t install more modern machinery and save or reduce the cost o labor?" Evidently there is more than one factor that determine the value of a product. Scarcity and demand may affect the pric of goods more than the amount of labor needed to produc them. The consumer often buys products because other peop have them, and he feels he must also "belong," by having them Producers increase profits, not by paying lower wages but b improved methods of marketing, more advertising, or a mor advantageous plant location. Labor-saving devices tend to re duce costs of production, yet wages do not go down, they go up With the machines, workers are able to produce more units pe hour, which reduces prices and brings more goods within th reach of more people. Thus, Marx's theory of surplus value i only a partial explanation.

Inevitability of Communism. Capitalism has not created a revo lutionary spirit. During the last hundred years, workers in capi talist countries have steadily improved their position. Thei wages have risen, their hours of work have been steadily reduced and their living conditions have improved. Through unions an legislation, social insurance—old age pensions, sickness an

nemployment programs—has become common. More and ıore workers own their own homes, own stock in large corpor- tions, and share in the profits of the companies for which they ork. As a result, many workers have become small capitalists ith an important stake in the capitalistic system which, Marx id, they should want to destroy.

In short, capitalism has strengthened, not weakened, its hold pon the people. There is less danger of revolution in capitalist ountries which enjoy relatively high standards of living. The anger of revolution is greatest in underdeveloped countries in hich capitalism has not had a chance to show its value as a esirable form of economy.

Marx predicted that communism would first come in the ıore highly developed capitalist countries of Western Europe, ıch as Germany or England. Instead it came first in Russia, ne of the most backward nations industrially. It seems as if Iarx's mistake was in labeling the growing pains of a changing nd flexible system as "death rattles."

ictatorship of the Proletariat. Marx's prediction that the orker dictatorship would be temporary and would lead to the bolition of classes and the establishment of equality has not een proven correct in the one country where such a revolution ok place. Today, 50 years after the Communist Revolution in ussia, the state is stronger than ever, worker dictatorship has ecome a party dictatorship, and the inequality of social classes ill exists.

D. SOCIALISM COMPARED WITH COMMUNISM

Although Marx used the word "Communist" in his *Manifesto* f 1848, the term did not come into general use until 1918. In at year it was adopted by N. Lenin for his political party hich up to that time had been called "Bolshevik" (majority). he Social Democratic Party of Russia, followers of Marx, had ivided into two groups—Bolshevik and Menshevik. Lenin re-

named his party "Communist" to show his complete disagreement with the policies of the Mensheviks, who could more properly be called "Socialist."

While both Socialists and Communists believe in public, or state ownership and control of the means of production and distribution, their methods for achieving this differ radically. Socialists favor reaching this goal by democratic, gradual means. Through education they believe the people will gradually come to realize the benefits to be achieved under socialism. Then, in freely held elections, they will elect representatives to bring about the formation of a socialist state. Socialism does not preach force or terror as an instrument of policy.

Communists, on the other hand, do not want to wait for the gradual formation of a socialist state. They want it at once and are willing, even eager, to use force to achieve it. They support a militant political program based on Marx's class struggle idea and will use any means to bring about the end—namely, socialism.

The two differ on the ultimate form of a socialist state. To the Socialist, the establishment of socialism is the final goal. The Communist, however, looks forward to the disappearance of all government and the creation of a state in which there would be no restraining or controlling government. Instead, individuals would be educated so that they would be able to work with each other, at all times aware of others' rights and privileges which should not be endangered or threatened.

E. LENINISM—THE APPLICATION OF MARXIST THEORIES

Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov, later known as Nikolai Lenin, was born in 1870 into an educated, middle-class family. His father was a provincial school inspector, a conservative in politics, and a loyal, faithful servant of the czar. Lenin was very fond of his older brother, Alexander, who had been arrested and executed for taking part in a plot to assassinate Czar Alexander II in 1887. This made a deep impression on young Ilyich.

Lenin attended the University of Kazan, but was expelled ecause of his protests against government repression of student tivities. Later he studied law and practiced it for a while. He ecame familiar with the writings of Karl Marx and became ore and more involved in the revolutionary agitation that was reading through Russia in the 1890's. He was put in jail for iting leaflets that supported Marxist ideas. In jail he con-ued to write, signing his articles with the name "N. Lenin," d gradually he became known by this name. He was exiled Siberia in 1898; two years later he was allowed to leave ussia, and he settled in Switzerland where he became an editor a new Marxist party newspaper, *Iskra* ("The Spark"). Copies this paper, carrying inflammatory editorials and fighting mes-ges, were distributed to many Marxist groups in Russia.

eninist Principles. In his book, *What Is To Be Done?* (1902), enin outlined his theory of how to bring about a revolution. e disagreed with Marx on the role that workers should play the revolution. Marx believed that a revolutionary fervor ould spread among the workers who, through their overwhelm-g numbers, would take over the government. Lenin wrote that orkers, left to themselves, would never develop a revolutionary irit; instead, they would form unions and fight for such im-ediate goals as higher wages and shorter working hours. Only organized group of thinkers and leaders, Lenin believed, uld bring the working class to the point of revolt, and then ntrol this revolt once it had started. He advocated the forma-n of a small, very well disciplined party of professional revolu-naries who would lead the masses. He believed that the asses had to be dragged toward socialism by leaders who derstood their problems better than they did.

Lenin also differed from Marx in his belief that a socialist volution was possible in a non-industrialized country such as ussia. Russia, he believed, could bypass the capitalist stage d leap into socialism directly from the feudal stage. This uld only be possible, however, if Russian peasants joined rces with the workers to cooperate in the revolution that would ad to socialism.

Lenin in the Revolution of 1905. Lenin, in exile at the o break of the revolution (see page 69), was able to return Russia in November, 1905, but he was unable to do very mu to prevent the czar from reestablishing control over his rebelli subjects. He was exiled again, and he spent the next ten ye in Switzerland, from which he directed a stream of articles a leaflets to the dwindling number of Bolsheviks and other revo tionary groups in Russia.

The Overthrow of the Czar (1917). Russian participation World War I was marked by military reverses, inefficiency a corruption behind the lines, and a growing wave of discont among the soldiers, the workers, and the peasants. Food sho ages resulted in the bread riots in St. Petersburg in March, 19 The soldiers refused to obey imperial orders to fire on the riot workers. Demands that the czar abdicate grew louder. This was forced to do, yielding to the insistence of the leading pa in the *Duma* that it choose a leader. The end of the cza government was, thus, neither planned nor brought about by t Bolsheviks, whose leaders were then in exile—Lenin in Switz land, Leon Trotsky in New York, and Joseph Stalin in Siberia.

The Germans helped Lenin return to Russia in the hope that would weaken Russia's continuing efforts in the war. The su cess of Lenin in organizing the Bolsheviks and overthrowing t provisional government in November, 1917, has been describ on pages 68-69.

Period of War Communism (1918-1921). Before the pro sional government had collapsed, it had ordered that a popu election be held to draw up a constitution for Russia. About million people voted. The Social Revolutionaries received million votes, the Bolsheviks only 9 million; the winning pa drew most of its support from the peasants. Lenin, who h returned to Russia to lead the Bolsheviks, dissolved the new elected Constituent Assembly; troops from the Bolshevik-co trolled soviets carried out the order. It was the last free electi held in Russia.

Lenin then proceeded to carry out his program of "land, ace, bread." The harsh Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (March, 918) with Germany took Russia out of World War I. Russia as forced to give up the Ukraine, Byelorussia, and Russian- ntrolled Poland, and supply huge quantities of grain and oil the Germans.

The peasants were allowed to take over the land of the nobles, us realizing one of their most important demands. The workers ere encouraged to take over and operate the factories.

ivil War (1918-1921). For the next three years civil war ged in Russia. Supporters of the czar and opponents of the olsheviks (or Communists, as they called themselves after arch, 1918) raised troops and fought against the Communist oops. Britain, France, and the United States, Russia's allies in e war against Germany, were afraid that the large supplies arms they had sent into Russia would fall into German hands. o prevent this, they sent soldiers into Russia. It took the ilitary genius of Leon Trotsky, the loyalty of his troops, and e support given to them by the many peasants who were pposed to foreign intervention, to overcome these threats from side and outside Russia.

Under the strain of these events, the Russian economy began break down. The peasants refused to turn over a large part of eir crops to the state because they were not receiving goods return; they planted just enough for their own needs. Workers oved unable to operate the factories, mines and railroads, so e production and distribution of goods declined. Strikes broke ut when workers did not receive any wages, or could not buy oods they wanted or the food they needed. Since private trade ad been abolished, consumers found themselves worse off than er. On top of all this, a prolonged drought caused a severe mine, in 1921-1922; millions of people died from starvation. ne relief missions of many countries, including the United ates, sent food to the Russian people. As many as 10 million ussians were fed every day by the American Relief Adminis- ation, headed by Herbert Hoover, who later became president the United States.

New Economic Policy (1921-1928). When sailors revolted Kronstadt, in March, 1921, and dissatisfaction grew among city workers, Lenin decided on a bold, new program; early 1922, he proclaimed the New Economic Policy (N.E.P.) was a restoration, in some measure, of capitalistic ideas. "I necessary," Lenin said, "sometimes to take one step backw so we may take two steps forward."

Under this policy, farmers turned over to the governmen certain percentage of the grain they raised; the rest they w permitted to sell in the open market at whatever price t could get. This gave farmers an incentive to produce more. Sm shops and businesses were permitted to operate. Thus, priv enterprise for a profit was encouraged.

This temporary retreat from communism served its purpo Gradually the economy recovered. The more energetic capable peasants grew rich as they hired workers to cultiv larger fields and increased their grain production. These r peasants, called *kulaks,* became important figures in the coun side. With more food assured them, workers returned to th factories. Foreign experts helped to train workers in the p formance of their jobs, and industrial production began increase. Concessions were offered to foreign capitalists to inv in Russian industry and transportation. Foreign technicians engineers helped build new factories and power projects.

The N.E.P. was Lenin's last important public act. He suffe a stroke and remained ailing and in semi-retirement until death, in 1924.

F. THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN TROTSKY AND STAL

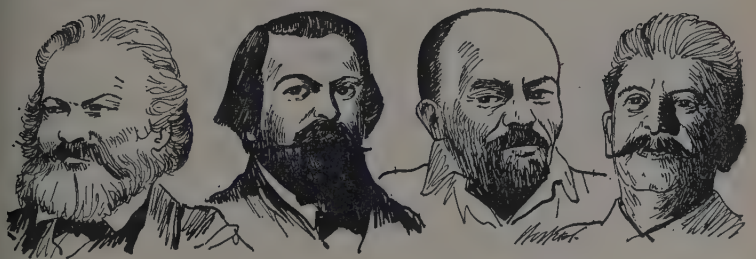
During his lifetime, Lenin was the undisputed leader of Communist Party and of the Soviet government. As chairm of the Council of Peoples' Commissars (cabinet), he had b the dominating figure. His illness raised the question of w was to succeed him. In a democracy, elections are held at sta times, and a defeated candidate gives way to his succes

opponent in a peaceful fashion. This is not the way in any dictatorship. A dictator does not share his power while in control; provisions are not made for his legal successor. When he dies or loses power, it is a question of which other man will prove strong enough to establish himself in power.

At the time of Lenin's death, the two most important men in the Communist Party were Leon Trotsky and Joseph Stalin.

Leon Trotsky (1879-1940). Born Lev Davidovich Bronstein of a middle-class farming family, Trotsky (the name he took when he escaped from exile in Siberia) became involved in revolutionary activities as a young man. He was known to Socialists all over the world as leader of the St. Petersburg Soviet in the violent strikes of 1905, and he had been an important figure in the revolution of that year. He disagreed with Lenin's concept of a small, tightly disciplined party organization, and had joined the Menshevik, or minority group, in the Social Democratic Party. When the 1905 revolution failed, Trotsky went abroad again, and was living in New York when the czar was overthrown in March, 1917.

He returned to Russia and played an important role in the November uprising which put the Bolsheviks into power. By that time he had joined forces with Lenin. He was named Foreign Minister in the first Soviet government, and negotiated the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (1918). During the civil war he served as Commissar for War and did a remarkable job in building the



The four founders of the Soviet State, from left to right, Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, V. Lenin, and Joseph Stalin. The first three are still honored in the Soviet Union. Khrushchev denounced Stalin in 1956.

Red Army into a fighting organization. He helped save Russia from the counter-revolutionary forces and kept the country safely under Communist rule.

Joseph Stalin (1879-1953). Born in Russian Georgia, Stalin (whose real name was Joseph Djugashvili) was studying for the priesthood when he became involved in revolutionary activities. He was arrested several times, and spent a number of years in exile in Siberia. When the March, 1917, revolution took place he was freed and returned to Petrograd.

Stalin held various positions in the new government, including that of Commissar for Nationalities. In 1922, he became the General Secretary of the Communist Party, a position which he used to build up his power. He was able to put his trusted followers into key posts. He realized that the real road to power was through the Communist Party.

Lenin foresaw that Trotsky and Stalin would conflict. He tried to prevent it through his *Political Testament,* a "last will" in which he warned the Communist Party members about the two rivals. Although he considered Trotsky the more capable man, he felt that he was overly confident and would not be able to hold the party together. As for Stalin, Lenin had this to say: "Stalin is too rude . . . I propose to the comrades to find a way to remove Stalin from that position (of General Secretary) and appoint to it another man who in all respects differs from Stalin . . . more patient, more loyal, more polite, and more attentive to comrades . . ."

Lenin could not change the course of events from his sickbed. Stalin was able to suppress his "will." It was not published in the Soviet Union until after Stalin's death. Thus, few of the party officials were aware of Lenin's warnings. Stalin's power was already apparent.

The Conflict Between Trotsky and Stalin. The struggle between the two leaders came into the open after Lenin's death. The real question was which of the two men should be the "ruler" of Russia. But it was over tactics and programs that the fight took place.

Trotsky believed that revolution in Russia could not succeed unless similar revolutions took place in the rest of Europe. Socialism could not be established in an agricultural state like Russia and survive alone against the advanced industrial states of Europe. Therefore, he favored Russian-led revolutions in these other countries. His theory of "continuing revolution" was disputed by Stalin who maintained that socialism could be established in any country. He advocated first strengthening socialism in Russia by making it a strong, industrialized country before spreading world revolution.

The two also differed about the position of the Russian peasants. Trotsky warned that under the N.E.P., many peasants were becoming petty capitalists, and as they grew wealthier and more powerful they would resist attempts to socialize the country. He favored the communization of all land under state control. He felt that making agriculture subservient to the industrial state was necessary for Russia's survival. Stalin disagreed; he called for an alliance between workers and peasants to provide the state with a dictatorship combining the proletariat and the peasantry. This was in line with his program of building socialism in one country at a time.

Stalin and his followers in the Communist Party outvoted Trotsky, expelled him from the party, and forced him into exile —first to Siberia and then out of the Soviet Union altogether. Trotsky moved from country to country until he settled in Mexico. There he was murdered, probably by a Stalin agent, in 1940.

With Trotsky out of the way, Stalin easily defeated other potential rivals and, by 1929, he was in undisputed control of the party, and through the party, of the country.

G. STALINISM

During the 25 years that Stalin ruled the Soviet Union with an iron hand, he modified the Marxist-Leninist philosophy of communism in the light of changed conditions in Russia and in the rest of the world as seen through his own eyes.

Doctrine of Party Supremacy. To Stalin, the dictatorship o the proletariat was not a temporary, but a permanent, stab government headed by a small group of selected people—th Party leadership. This elite was responsible to one man, th all-powerful General Secretary of the Party. Stalin, as the Gen eral Secretary was, thus, the absolute ruler of the Communi State.

Once the leaders of the Party had agreed upon a progra (and Stalin was in a position to determine that program), the was no further discussion or disagreement among the member

Stalin did not believe in the Marxist promise that the stat would "wither away" (see page 82). On the contrary, he fe that the state must become stronger than before to assure th victory of communism. Until the time that communism woul be firmly established (and, according to Stalin, this lay far i the future), workers would have to exert themselves to the ut most and be paid according to the quality and amount of thei work. The official slogan was "from each according to hi ability, to each according to his work."

Cult of Personality. Stalin was glorified as the fatherly leade of his people, the all-wise, all-knowing ruler of his country During World War II, he was praised as a great war leader. The hero-worship became so exaggerated that virtually everything— the writing of a book or an article, the building of a factory, the painting of a picture—was attributed to inspiration derived from Stalin's genius. His pictures and statues were displayed all over the country; cities and streets were named after him. The absolute power maintained by Stalin through terror and fear helped to create the myth that he was "a leader who could do no wrong."

World Revolution. Stalin believed in building up the Soviet Union into a powerful industrial and military state before launching a drive for the expansion of communism on a world scale. He rejected the Marxist thesis that proletarian revolutions would break out spontaneously in other countries, and substituted for it the more militant concept of carefully pre-arranged and

planned revolutions. This meant strengthening and supporting Communist parties in all countries to enable them eventually to seize political and military power. Thus, Stalin adopted in some measure a program he had rejected when Trotsky had favored it, in 1923-1925.

The Five Year Plans. Once he had established himself in full control, Stalin ended the New Economic Policy and introduced the concept of a "planned economy," in 1928. This was his program for making the U.S.S.R. a strong industrial state. The first of a series of Five Year Plans was begun in 1928. Different economic goals were projected and specific plans for achieving these goals were drawn up. Every aspect of the country's economic life was included.

Agriculture was collectivized by force. The land was taken away from the peasants, and the ownership of private property on the farms was abolished. Collective farms—operated by the state (*sovkhoz*), or state-owned but operated by the peasants (*kolkhoz*)—were created. This program of socialist farming was resisted by the rich peasants, or *kulaks,* as Trotsky had predicted in 1923. This resistance was broken by cruel police terror; millions were deported to Siberian penal colonies or forcibly resettled on the new collective farms. Thus, Stalin, by 1931, had done what Trotsky had recommended and Stalin had opposed in 1923.

Realizing the importance of machine tools and electricity in industrialization, Stalin ruthlessly forced the growth of heavy industry. Power projects, iron and steel factories, munitions plants, and machine-producing establishments were given priority. Peasants were shifted from rural to urban centers to work in industry. The government set up production schedules for workers and introduced a complicated system of economic incentives (more production, more money; less production, more punishment). Stern police measures, described as "labor discipline," were used to push workers to the limit of their energies.

In this concentration on industrialization, Russian consumers were ignored. Food, clothing, housing and a very few luxuries were produced in quantities (and quality) barely sufficient to

keep the Soviet people from want. Russian life under Stalin was hard; the average standard of living was very low. All opposition was crushed by the ever alert and active police. Consumers were urged to go without today's needs in favor of fulfilling dreams tomorrow. But tomorrow, to most Russians, seemed a long way off.

QUESTIONS AND ACTIVITIES

MULTIPLE CHOICE TEST

In each of the following you have three choices. Choose the only correct answer.

1. "Utopia" refers to *(a)* the poor working conditions in the early Industrial Revolution, *(b)* an imaginary ideal state, *(c)* the defeat of the Soviets in the Revolution of 1905.
2. The "Father of Modern Socialism" was *(a)* Saint-Simon, *(b)* Robert Owen, *(c)* Karl Marx.
3. This chapter describes the *(a)* organization of a Communist economy, *(b)* ideas of Marxism, *(c)* establishment of a strong centralized czarist government.
4. By the "proletariat" is meant *(a)* the workers, *(b)* the peasants, *(c)* the nobles.
5. The "withering away of the state" means *(a)* centralization of authority in the hands of a few, *(b)* the gradual disappearance of government and replacement with individual self-control, *(c)* a popularly elected legislature.
6. Socialism and communism both favor *(a)* public ownership and control of production and distribution, *(b)* gradual establishment of a democratic government, *(c)* abolition of secret police.
7. Socialism and communism differ most seriously on *(a)* freedom of religion, *(b)* methods to achieve public ownership and control of production and distribution, *(c)* stress on education.
8. Marx believed that *(a)* socialism would come first in a highly industrialized state, *(b)* a small group of professional leaders should lead the masses, *(c)* socialism would be established by peaceful means.
9. Utopian Socialists included *(a)* Charles Fourier, *(b)* Michael Bakunin, *(c)* Pierre Proudhon.

10. Lenin revised Marxist principles by *(a)* introducing the idea of professionally trained leaders, *(b)* denouncing the class struggle principle, *(c)* renouncing the use of force and terror.

11. Lenin was helped to return to Russia in 1917 by the *(a)* Americans, *(b)* British, *(c)* Germans.

12. In the class struggle, Marx pictured a conflict between *(a)* serf and peasant, *(b)* worker and employer, *(c)* noble and ruler.

13. The New Economic Policy of Lenin *(a)* established centralized economic planning, *(b)* reintroduced capitalistic elements, *(c)* collectivized farming.

14. *Kulaks* were *(a)* rich peasants, *(b)* Communist party leaders, *(c)* professional soldiers.

15. Civil war in Russia between 1918-1920 was fought between *(a)* Stalin and Trotsky, *(b)* the "reds" and the "whites," *(c)* Lenin and Nicholas II.

16. The "organizer of victory" for the Bolsheviks, in 1920, was *(a)* Stalin, *(b)* Trotsky, *(c)* Kerensky.

17. Stalin and Trotsky disagreed over *(a)* promoting revolutions in other countries, *(b)* the role of the Communist Party in government, *(c)* economic planning.

18. By the "cult of personality" is meant *(a)* collective leadership, *(b)* glorification of one leader, *(c)* decentralized party control.

19. A planned economy in the Soviet Union was introduced by *(a)* Lenin, *(b)* Stalin, *(c)* Trotsky.

20. The correct time table of types of society, according to Marx, was *(a)* capitalist, feudal, socialist, *(b)* feudal, socialist, capitalist, *(c)* feudal, capitalist, socialist.

21. A famous collaborator of Karl Marx was *(a)* Friedrich Engels, *(b)* Thomas More, *(c)* Robert Owen.

22. "Workers of the world, unite!" is a quotation from *(a) Capital, (b) The Communist Manifesto, (c) Utopia.*

23. The "bible of communism" describes *(a) Capital, (b) What is Property?, (c) What is to Be Done?*

24. Russia withdrew from World War I under the Treaty of *(a)* Versailles, *(b)* Brest-Litovsk, *(c)* Paris.

25. During the period of war communism *(a)* a popularly elected government ran the country, *(b)* peasants took over the land of the nobles, *(c)* owners were allowed to retain and operate their factories.

KEY WORDS AND PHRASES

Can you explain the meaning of the following words and phrases?

Utopian Socialism
Scientific Socialism
Communist Manifesto
dialectical materialism
class struggle
surplus value
dictatorship of the proletariat
"withering away of the state"
synthesis
exploited class
Social Revolutionaries
war communism
"land, peace, bread"
"all power to the soviets"
New Economic Policy
cult of personality
kulaks
party supremacy

COMPLETION TEST

Complete the following sentences, using the words or phrases from the list above.

1. The ..... of Lenin permitted peasants to sell their surplus crops in the free market.
2. Lenin's slogan to win support from the Russian people, in 1917, was .....
3. Marx and Engels wrote .....
4. The leading party in the Constituent Assembly of 1918 that was not allowed to meet was the .....
5. Karl Marx attempted to explain the course of all human history by .....
6. Excessive flattery of a leader is known as ....
7. Karl Marx was the founder of ..... based on proven principles.
8. Social classes are in constant conflict known as .... for control of the state.
9. Capitalist downfall will be succeeded by the ....
10. The ..... were the peasants who benefited the most from Lenin's "retreat to capitalism."

THINGS TO DO

1. Class committees should read the following and prepare reports on the main ideas presented by the authors: More's *Utopia;* Marx's and Engels's *Communist Manifesto;* Lenin's *What is to Be Done?*
2. Draw a cartoon or a poster to illustrate basic Communist ideas, such as *(a)* the class struggle, *(b)* dictatorship of the proletariat, *(c)* cult of personality, *(d)* surplus value.
3. Use the card catalogue or the encyclopedia in the library to investigate and report back to the class about Socialist parties in Great Britain, Denmark and Sweden. Include in your report how these parties have been able to maintain themselves in office without following Communist ideas or practices.
4. The class should prepare a list of questions about communism, which all Americans should be able to answer, and be ready to answer each of them.
5. One student should read and report on *The Russian Revolution* by Moorehead, and another should read and report on John Reed's *Ten Days that Shook the World;* then the class should compare the two as to their treatment of the November, 1917, Revolution.
6. Make a chart showing the main ideas, similarities and differences between capitalism, socialism, and communism.

HOW THE SOVIET UNION IS GOVERNED

A. MAJOR CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SOVIET SYSTEM

Soviet Russia calls itself a Communist state. It *claims* to be more democratic than the Western states. It holds up its constitution as a model for other states to adopt. It preaches cultural freedom for its many nationalities. It prides itself on having abolished inequality of classes.

Let us look at several of the major features of the Soviet system of government.

A Written Constitution. Democracy teaches the value and importance of a written constitution. Such a constitution describes, more or less in detail, the structure of the government, the election of its officials and their duties and responsibilities, the rights of its citizens, and the way the constitution may be changed. Most countries today have written constitutions. One exception is Great Britain, where an unwritten constitution based on laws and customs has served the country well for almost a thousand years.

The Soviet Union also has a written constitution. In fact, in its relatively short history of fifty years, the U.S.S.R. has had *three* constitutions. One was drawn up in 1918 for the Russian Republic. At that time, a large part of European Russia had been lost to Germany, and there had been revolts in various parts of the Ukraine and Transcaucasia. A second one, in 1924, created the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics out of the territories regained after 1918. The third one, adopted in 1936, is often called the "Stalin Constitution" because Stalin was its chief architect; it outlined the building of socialism in the Soviet

Union. This constitution is still in effect today, although it has been reported in recent years that a new constitution is being prepared to replace the Stalin constitution.

However, and this is important to remember, the Soviet constitution does not function in the same way that a constitution does in Western countries. In the United States, the Constitution is taken very seriously. When the president or Congress proposes new programs or policies, the question is raised, "Does the Constitution permit this to be done?" In the Soviet Union this question is hardly ever raised. The limits that the Constitution places on the powers and authority of the leaders of the United States do not operate in the Soviet Union. For example, nowhere in the Soviet constitution is the Communist Party given the complete control that it has over the government.

The Soviet constitution appears to be mainly window dressing, so that the Russians can say, "We, too, have a constitution." In practice, however, the constitution does not bar absolute control by one party—even by one man.

Union of Party and State. Only one political party is permitted to exist in the Soviet Union—the Communist Party. The leaders of the Communist Party are also the leaders of the Soviet government. There is a very close union between the Party and the state; it is hard to see where one ends and the other begins. The same persons frequently hold the top positions in the Party structure and in the government, so that it is virtually impossible to know when they are acting and speaking as Party leaders or as government officials.

The Domination of the State. We learned, in Chapter 3, that Karl Marx prophesied the "withering away of the state" and the creation of a Communist regime with no government at all. How long this would take was never made clear.

After fifty years of Communist rule, there is no evidence of any "withering away" of the state. Just the opposite has taken place. The state has grown more powerful in its control over every phase of life in the Soviet Union. In 1961, Khrushchev, then the Soviet dictator, announced that "the state will remain

long after the first phase of communism. The process of its withering away will be a long one." He added that socialism must first become successful among the other countries of the world before the state can disappear.

The Status of Federalism. The U.S.S.R. is a federal republic. It is a union of 15 republics, just as the United States is a federal union of 50 states. In a federal union, the various members have certain powers and functions that are sometimes separate from and sometimes shared with the federal government. The individual American states, for example, have wide powers over education, marriage, divorce, and housing. The federal government has exclusive powers over foreign affairs, defense, interstate commerce and currency. The states share with the federal government taxation, road-building powers, and the chartering of corporations.

In the Soviet Union there is no true partnership between the federal government and the governments of the various republics. Important decisions relating to government control are almost invariably made by the small group of leaders who make up the Party Politburo. Party control thus extends to the republics. There is much more centralization of power than is found in a true federal system.

The Principle of Equality. Marx and Lenin wrote about the evils of a system where the few received vast rewards for their labors, and the many were given so little. They and other Communist leaders have stated many times that such inequality should and must be abolished. When the Communists took control, in 1917, they issued a declaration of equality, stating that there should be no master or servant, no superior or inferior —all should be considered equal. To dramatize this principle, they directed that everyone, even the leaders, should call everyone else "comrade."

Since 1917, this principle of equality has been considerably modified. At the present time, political leaders, industrial managers, intellectuals, scientists, and ballet dancers are considered valuable to society. For them salaries are higher than for doc-

tors, lawyers, and accountants. Other forms of compensation, such as housing, clothing, automobiles, refrigerators, television sets and other luxuries are available for the former group in preference to the latter. It would seem that the gap between the favored few and the masses may be quite as wide as in capitalist countries. Privates in the Red Army infantry are about as far apart from generals salary-wise and in prestige as they are in the United States Army. Managers of collective farms and of industrial plants, tractor-operators, astronauts, and engineers naturally receive much greater material reward than those who perform menial chores or are unskilled laborers. In fact, the range of wage scales in the Soviet Union, on the basis of skill, preparation, and productive capacity, is coming closer to that of the United States every day.

Rights and Duties of the Soviet Citizen. The Soviet constitution includes a section that corresponds to the American Bill of Rights. However, the emphasis is on social and economic rights, rather than on freedom from government interference. "The Fundamental Rights and Duties of Soviet Citizens" include: (1) employment and the right to work; (2) old age, sickness, and disability insurance (there is no unemployment insurance for unemployment is not recognized in the Soviet Union); (3) the right to leisure and rest; (4) free elementary and higher education; (5) liberty to form trade unions, cooperative associations, and youth organizations; (6) freedom of conscience and of worship, and of "anti-religious," although not of "religious," propaganda; (7) inviolability of person, residence, and correspondence, including freedom from arrest except with the approval of a prosecutor or on the decision of a court; (8) freedom of speech, press, and assembly "in accordance with the interest of the toilers and for the purpose of strengthening the socialist system." These rights are for those who support the regime, not for those who oppose it.

Under the Soviet system, rights carry with them corresponding duties. More emphasis seems to be placed on duties than on rights. Duties include the following: (1) to observe the constitution and "carry out" the laws; (2) to fulfill social duties; (3) to

maintain labor discipline; (4) to respect the rights of the socialist community; (5) to safeguard socialized property, such as land, factories, mines and railroads; (6) to work according to the principle: "he who does not work shall not eat"; (7) to serve under the universal military service law in the Red Army; and (8) to defend the country in case of need.

This is indeed an extraordinarily full listing of a Soviet citizen's rights and obligations. It is interesting to compare this section with that found in the American Bill of Rights or in the rights guaranteed in the various state constitutions in the United States. Unfortunately, the amount of protection the Soviet citizen receives from this far-reaching document is highly questionable. We shall see, in succeeding chapters, to what extent many of these provisions are carried out, or are merely given lip service.

B. THE COMMUNIST PARTY

We are all familiar with the term "political party." It refers to a group of voters who are drawn together in support of a more or less definite public program. In the United States there are two major political parties—Republican and Democrat—and several minor parties. These parties compete with each other for public offices and for control of the national government by persuading the voters to vote for their candidates instead of those of the other parties. Many people, rich and poor, from all walks of life, support the party of their choice by contributing money, by working for it in various ways, right up to election day, and by trying to persuade others to join them in their efforts. On election day, the voters choose the party and the candidates they feel will best represent their interests. The citizens, thus, have freedom of choice in this selection. Most of the time one party gains a majority of members in one or both houses of Congress. The winning party is then said to control the national government. But the losing party continues to work for the next election, in the hope that it will be able to persuade

a majority of the voters to elect its candidates the next time. The majority rules. But the minority today can become the majority tomorrow, as has happened many times in the United States, as well as in other countries.

This is not the case in the Soviet Union. Only one party is permitted to exist—the Communist Party. The great majority of the members of the Supreme Soviet, the Soviet legislature, are members of the Communist Party. The Party has been in absolute control of the Soviet government since it seized control in November, 1917. It is very difficult to tell where the Party stops and the government begins. For example, in 1968, Aleksei Kosygin was premier of the government (chairman of the Council of Ministers, the executive branch of the government) and also a member of the Party's Politburo (the executive branch of the Party). The Party makes decisions, and the government carries them out. Leaders such as Lenin, Stalin, and Khrushchev dominated the Soviet Union not through their government jobs but through their positions in the Party. As Stalin once said, "The Party openly admits that it guides and gives general direction to the government."

The Party regards itself as the only true interpreter of the writings and theories of Marx, Engels, and Lenin. The Communist Party formulates policies and methods based on their theories. Once the Party has decided on a policy, it becomes binding on all of its members. This "party line" is an important and effective way of assuring control over all its members.

Membership in the Party. Several features of Party membership make the Communist Party different from the political parties of Western countries. Among these features are:

1. Limited Membership. There are about 240,000,000 people living in the Soviet Union. Only about 12,000,000 of them are members of the Communist Party; 2,000,000 of them are women. The Party, thus, numbers about 5 per cent of the population.

When the Party seized control in 1917, its members num-

bered about 200,000. Membership grew gradually to 1,500,000 by 1929. Just before World War II, membership had increased to 3,000,000. During the war Stalin felt that key people serving in the military forces and industrial plants should be allowed to join the Party. By the end of the war about 6,500,000 Russians were members. This number has steadily grown as the government's control over all aspects of life in the Soviet Union has expanded.

The leaders of the Party do not favor opening the doors to anybody and everybody. They prefer to keep the membership relatively small, so that high standards, rigid control, and strict discipline can be more easily enforced.

The limited size of the Party does not tell the whole story, since many Russians who are not officially Party members consider themselves Communists and support the Party and the government. It is not easy to become a member, nor to remain a member. In fact, no other type of membership is permitted except that of "good standing!"

2. Membership Requirements. Qualifications for membership in the Communist Party have varied from time to time. In the early years of Communist control, preference was given to factory workers and peasants because the Party considered them the most reliable and desirable members in the new state they were creating; white collar workers and intellectuals were very carefully screened. Gradually, as the country became more industrialized, it became easier for other social groups to join.

Today an applicant must be recommended for membership by three members of the Party who have known him for at least a year. The applicant must be at least 24 years of age; preference is given to those who have been members of one or another of the Soviet youth organizations (see page 117). Other party members are, thus, held responsible for the person they nominate. The applicant, if accepted, must serve a probationary period of two years before becoming a full member. He must show evidences of full acceptance of the Communist creed, willingness to obey and carry out orders, ability to perform his obligations and duties, and must be of good moral standing.

3. Duties of Party Members. The Communist Party expects and gets absolute obedience from its members. Orders are expected to be carried out regardless of dangers or hardships. In addition to paying dues of about 3 per cent of his salary, a party member is expected to contribute to all sorts of charitable and patriotic activities. He must show devotion to the Party by arranging and holding meetings in factories, apartment houses, and collective farms, instructing probationary members, and serving as a labor volunteer for such jobs as the Party may ask of him. He must continue his studies in Marxist-Leninist doctrines, or take special courses to improve his knowledge. He must volunteer to go to Siberia to serve in the construction of a new factory, the opening of a new mine, or the formation of a new town. And he must go without questioning, setting a good example for others in his personal conduct and in his family relations.

It is not easy to become and remain a member of the Communist Party.

4. Membership Privileges. Why do so many people want to join the Party if it is so hard to get in and so much is expected of its members?

For those with ambition, it is much easier to get ahead as a Party member. The better jobs in government, industry, education, science and technology, even on farms, are virtually reserved for or open only to members of the Communist Party.

There are other more personal advantages in membership. A Party member will find it easier to get a better apartment for himself and his family; he will be more certain to get tickets to a play, movie, or ballet performance; he will get preference in vacations, both as to time and place. Automobiles, special foods (when available), country houses, and better clothing are more readily available to Party members. The children of Party members have a preferred position when it comes to higher educational opportunities. It can be said, therefore, that while the Party expects a lot from its members, it also does a lot for its members.

To many people, membership in the Party provides a motive

for existence. Their belief in Communist principles is sometimes so great that it amounts to religious fanaticism.

5. Party Discipline. To insure strict discipline, the Party keeps very complicated records on the conduct and activities of its members. Any member may leave the Party of his own free will at any time, but he will find it almost impossible to rejoin at a later date. The member who fails to live up to his obligations will find himself brought up on charges, suspended and, if found guilty of any one of many misdeeds, he may be fined or even thrown out of the Party.

Such "purges" go on all the time. In a normal year, as many as 50,000 members may be dismissed from the Party. During the Stalin years of absolute rule by terror and force, the records of every Party member were examined closely and many thousands were not only purged, but executed.

On what grounds can a member be expelled? The list is incredibly long. Serious charges include criticizing Party policies or leaders in public, failing to pay dues, and refusing to obey Party orders. Less serious charges include stealing, drunkenness, abuse of personal authority, or association with "foreign elements." The last charge can mean a lot of things, depending on who is interpreting this activity. For example, a number of intellectuals —writers, musicians, artists—were dropped from the Party in 1968 because they had publicly protested the trial and conviction of four critics of the government.

Organization of the Party. The Communist Party is like a huge pyramid. Its broad base is formed at the member's place of work—farm, factory, school, or office. Each local unit elects delegates to higher Party groups in towns, which in turn elect delegates to the district Party group. Delegates are from there elected to a provincial Party group, then to a republic's Party group, and finally to the highest authority—the All-Union Party Congress.

The important parts of the Communist Party are:

1. The All-Union Party Congress

2. The Party Central Committee
3. The Party Politburo
4. The First Secretary of the Party.

1. The All-Union Party Congress. This is supposed to be the highest agency in the Communist Party. It consists of delegates who represent the party organizations of the 15 republics that make up the Soviet Union, together with delegates from the autonomous republics, regional areas, and also representatives from Communist parties throughout the world.

The Congress is supposed to meet once every four years, but this regulation has been more often violated than obeyed. Between 1940 and 1952 there were no meetings of the Party Congress. At the 23rd Congress held in 1966, there were almost 5,000 delegates.

One of the original purposes of the Party Congress was to decide the position that the Party should take on questions of current policy. Today, however, it is really only an opportunity for the Party leaders to state the Party's programs and policies which have been determined elsewhere.

The meetings, which last for a week or two, are held in Moscow, and they are gala occasions. All the leaders of the Party (who are also leaders in the government) are present. They make speeches, sometimes very important ones, indicating changes in policies or programs. At the 20th Party Congress, held in 1956, Khrushchev denounced Stalin and exposed the crimes he committed against the state during his 30 years of control. He also introduced a new foreign policy for the Soviet Union called "peaceful coexistence." This meant a relaxation of the Iron Curtain restraints and more friendly relations with the capitalist countries. In 1966, at the 23rd Congress, a new Five Year Plan was announced, which provided for an introduction of some capitalistic features in the Soviet economy (see pp. 134, 135).

The delegates listen to the speeches, applaud them wildly, and approve of what has been done since the last meeting. Who runs the Party between these short sessions of the All-Union Party Congress?

2. The Central Committee of the Party. The Congress is supposed to choose the members of this Central Committee (actually they are selected by the leaders of the Party). This committee is supposed to act for the Party during the long intervals between meetings of the All-Union Party Congress. It consists of over 350 members and meets several times a year. It carries out the decisions of the All-Union Party Congress, but can take action on its own.

The Central Committee is the chief executive body of the Party and is charged with the general supervision of Party activities. It is in a position to enforce Party decisions throughout the entire Soviet Union. Its large size, however, and its infrequent meetings limit its real influence.

3. The Party Politburo. The real center of authority in the Party (and thus in the government) is the Political Bureau, better known as *Politburo*. (It was formerly called the *Presidium* —the Latin word for "governing body.") The *Politburo* normally consists of 12 full-time voting members and 6 non-voting alternates who are elected by the Central Committee. These 18 people are the real rulers of the country.

The *Politburo* meets frequently, sometimes several times a week; its meetings are held in secret. Its members are the most important members of both Party and government. This group makes all the important policy decisions. Because its members also hold key government jobs, such as heading the ministries of agriculture, industry, finance, and transportation, their decisions are also concerned with government affairs. The *Politburo's* deliberations cover both foreign political issues and domestic economic, social, and cultural problems. The group draws up the "party line" on all these matters, a line that must be followed by all members.

4. The First Secretary of the Party. Until Khrushchev was ousted from power in 1964, the position of First Secretary was the most important single job in the Communist Party and in the government. The First Secretary was the presiding officer of the All-Union Party Congress and of the Central Committee,

and could determine the agenda—who would speak about what and in what order. He had a complete list of Party members and the positions they held, down to the smallest village, and could exert a lot of pressure throughout the Soviet Union. He was automatically a member of all committees and was in a position to appoint friends and supporters to key positions. In effect, he was the head of the international Communist movement. Stalin used his position as Party Secretary to build up a strong political base of power which was important in enabling him to win the power struggle against Trotsky.

Today the position of Party Secretary is not as powerful as it was under Stalin. Leonid Brezhnev holds the office and he shares power with Aleksei Kosygin, the Premier. The two combined their forces to bring about the downfall of Khrushchev in 1964. It was then decided to create a "collective leadership" of the *Politburo,* instead of permitting one man to run the country.

Let us now examine the structure of the government of the Soviet Union and see how the Party exerts control over the various parts.

C. THE GOVERNMENT OF THE SOVIET UNION

The Soviet Union consists of 15 member republics, each of which has a government structure similar to that of the central government. The most important parts of the central government are:

1. The Supreme Soviet
2. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet
3. The Council of Ministers
4. The Presidium of the Council of Ministers

1. The Supreme Soviet. This is the legislature of the Union, like the American Congress or the British Parliament. It consists of two houses:

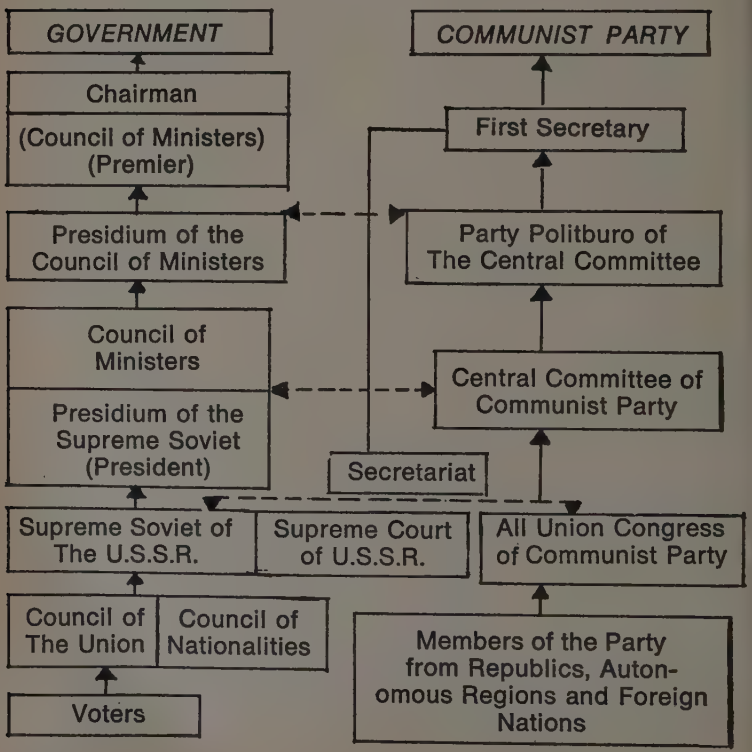
a. The Council of Nationalities with 750 members. These members represent the different republics of the Union and the various autonomous regions and national districts. Each republic sends 25 delegates; each autonomous re-

public 11; each autonomous region 5; and each national district 1.

b. The Council of the Union with 767 members, representing people of the Soviet Union, on the basis of one delegate for every 300,000 people.

The Supreme Soviet meets twice a year, for a week or so each time. During these meetings, the attention of the whole country is centered upon it. The most important duties of the delegates are to listen to speeches from Party and government leaders about policies and accomplishments, to approve any actions already taken by its smaller governing units and more powerful bodies (such as the Presidium of the Council of Ministers), and to adopt the budget (a listing of the income and

DUAL STRUCTURE OF THE SOVIET STATE



expenditures of the government) presented by the leaders. Action is taken by majority vote, which is usually unanimous.

Members of the Supreme Soviet are elected for a four-year term, and serve without pay. Almost 80 per cent of the delegates are Communist Party members. About 20 per cent of the delegates are women. The members come from all walks of life —there are factory workers, peasants, office workers, doctors, lawyers and engineers. Well-known figures in sports, literature, science, technology, and the army are often elected members of the Supreme Soviet.

2. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. The Supreme Soviet is too large to get work done quickly and efficiently, and it meets too infrequently to be a continuing body. It, therefore, elects a Presidium, which consists of about 30 members (this number changes from time to time). The Presidium has a chairman who is the official head of the Soviet state, a secretary, 15 deputy chairmen (one for each member republic), and 16 members. The law-making power of the government rests with the Presidium.

This Presidium combines the major political functions of government; it has the power to declare war, mobilize the armed forces, ratify treaties, appoint and remove ministers and military commanders, and issue decrees that have the status of law. Its judicial powers include control over the Soviet Union's leading law official, the Procurator General. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet follows the policies and carries out the decisions of the *Politburo* of the Communist Party, thus providing still another important link between Party and state.

3. The All-Union Council of Ministers. Ranking immediately above the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet is the Council of Ministers, which is similar to the cabinet in the British or French governments.

This Council consists of a chairman, called the Premier, the First Deputy Premiers, the deputy chairmen from the 15 republics, and the heads of the various ministries, state committees, planning commissions, and other agencies. It is a large

body of 50 to 60 members. Its numbers may change from year to year as some of the departments are combined or new ones are created.

The Council of Ministers is elected by the Supreme Soviet for four-year terms. In practice the top Party leaders decide on the cabinet which is presented by the Premier himself to the Supreme Soviet, and is accepted with unanimous enthusiasm and without debate.

The Council of Ministers has very broad powers. It is the executive branch of the Soviet government. It directs the work of the different ministries; it controls central planning; it conducts foreign affairs; it supervises the country's armed forces. Since most of the Party *Politburo* members are also members of the Council of Ministers, the Communist Party remains dominant in Soviet affairs.

4. The Presidium of the Council of Ministers. Even a Council of 50 or 60 ministers is too large a body for efficiency and speed. So this body appoints a smaller executive committee, officially known as the Presidium of the Council of Ministers. It consists of the Premier (or Chairman of the Council), the two First Deputy Premiers, three Deputy Chairmen and two or three other individuals appointed by the Council. It numbers, therefore, about a dozen, approximately the same as the Presidium of the Communist Party. More importantly, it includes many of the same members, so that the two bodies are almost identical. The two Deputy Premiers usually divide the major governmental areas of responsibility between them: one for foreign, the other for domestic affairs. Each of the three Deputy Premiers is assigned responsibilities for a specific field such as agriculture, economic planning, or military production. The other appointed members may represent special fields where problems have arisen, such as foreign trade or travel, finance or light industry.

This Presidium, therefore, represents the real brains of the Soviet government. Since its membership is largely identical with the Presidium of the Communist Party, the two—Party and government—are tightly interlocked.

D. COURTS IN THE SOVIET UNION

The court system in the Soviet Union is very different from the American court system. The most important courts or law officials in the Union are:

1. The Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R.
2. The Procurator General
3. The People's Courts

1. The Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. The highest judicial body in the country consists of 16 judges, headed by a chairman, all appointed for a five-year term by the Supreme Soviet (which means the Communist Party). The heads of the Supreme Courts in each of the 15 union republics act as unofficial, non-voting members. In addition, about 20 lay judges (people who have had little if any legal training), called "people's assessors," help the judges on the Supreme Court in reaching decisions, sometimes having considerable influence.

The Supreme Court hears cases involving disputes between the Union republics and cases brought by appeal from the local, regional, and Supreme Courts of the republics. It interprets laws and reviews the acts of the republics' administrative agencies.

2. The Procurator General corresponds to the Attorney-General of the United States. He is the chief judicial officer of the Soviet Union, and is elected by the Supreme Soviet for a seven-year term. His chief functions are to supervise the state attorneys of the Union republics and to act as the chief prosecutor for the state in all important criminal cases. Since he is a member of the Communist Party, it is through him and his representatives that the party exercises a very sharp control over the courts in the Soviet Union and the cases that come before them.

3. The People's Courts are the lowest and most numerous courts in the country. Almost all cases involving petty or major crimes, even those of treason, are heard in a People's Court.

Each court has one professional judge, elected by the voters for a three-year term. The judge is assisted by laymen who are not required to have any legal or professional training. These

"people's assessors," are elected to serve for about a week or two, and are not paid. Generally two "people's assessors" sit with a judge to hear a case. These lay judges are very often factory workers or peasants from a collective farm who are relieved of their regular employment during the period they are helping the judge. They might be considered a substitute for a jury, because there is no jury system in the Soviet Union.

The laws of the Soviet Union are interpreted by the judges, both professional and lay, to serve the Communist Party. Political crimes such as sabotage of industrial equipment, bribe-taking, theft of state property, or black market currency operations, are treated more severely than civil crimes. Many political crimes are dealt with by the special courts of the secret police (the "Committee of State Security," as it is called today), although in recent years the judicial powers of the secret police have been curbed. Many so-called political crimes are now being heard and tried in the People's Courts.

E. ELECTIONS IN THE SOVIET UNION

The Soviet Union has very liberal voting laws today. Everybody 18 years and older may vote. There are no educational, literacy, religious or residential requirements.

The people of the Soviet Union are encouraged in almost every possible way short of force to vote on election day. In 1966, 144,000,000 people registered to vote, and 99.94 per cent of them cast ballots. Compare these figures to American election results. We do very well when 70 per cent of the registered voters turn out on Election Day to vote!

The Soviet figures are all the more astonishing in view of the fact that only one political party is permitted to exist in the U.S.S.R. When the voter goes to the polls, therefore, he finds only one name on the ballot. There is no competition between candidates. This means, of course, that there is really no contest; the person nominated is always elected.

Who nominates the candidates? They are selected by the Communist Party, by trade unions, farmers' cooperatives, and

factory and office worker organizations. Candidates are "discussed" at public meetings of these groups. Approval of a candidate assures his election.

Elections in the Soviet Union are held to stimulate approval and support for the government's policies, and to give the people a feeling of participation in the government. For months before the elections, meetings are held throughout the country, at which the candidates make speeches. Party members and many non-party people work in the election districts, drumming up enthusiasm for the coming elections, and reminding the people to vote. The elections are discussed in the press, on radio and television. On election day, there is a steady stream of voters to the polling places. Everybody is helped to get there—the lame, the blind, the sick; mothers with young children find Party members ready to "baby sit" while they go to vote. Everybody acts as if it were a real holiday, and they are being called upon to do something very important. The Soviets do indeed "get out the vote." They proudly point out how "democratic" it is, and how interested the Soviet people are in their government!

F. OTHER AGENCIES OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

The Communist Party, as we have seen, has set up a very elaborate structure to control the U.S.S.R. The government is one agency of the Party, but not the only one. The totalitarian program of the Party is extended to every corner of life in the Soviet Union.

Youth Organizations. From the very beginning of the Communist regime, its leaders have had a special concern for securing the loyalty of the young people. They knew that their ultimate success would depend on how well they succeeded in making "good big Communists" out of "good little Communists." Therefore, they start their program of political education with the very young children.

Communist political indoctrination of young children begins at the age of eight. For children there is the "Little Octobrist"

League of which they are members until they are ten, when they move on to the "Young Pioneers." They are members of this group until they are 15 or 16, when they may join the *Komsomols* if they can qualify. Virtually all young people, over 30 million members, irrespective of their backgrounds, are members of these groups. They are trained primarily in the principles of communism, but there are also physical training, sports, and elementary military training. The children engage in useful activities in their communities, such as repairing school equipment, reading to old people, and helping to bring in the harvest if they live on a cooperative farm. They also pursue hobbies such as art, music, electronics, or woodworking..

Such activities may be compared with those of the Boy Scouts or the 4H clubs, but their basic purposes are very different. The Soviet youth organizations have a political and social purpose which make them serve society and the state in a more direct way than do the Western organizations.

The Young Communist League, or *Komsomol,* is a most valuable arm of the Communist Party. Young people between the ages of 15 and 24 are eligible for membership in this organization. Candidates are recommended by two *Komsomol* members or one Communist Party member. There are over 20 million members today in this League. While many of them are students in colleges and universities, there are also members in factories, on farms, and in the military services.

The *Komsomol* is a junior version of the Communist Party; the rights and duties of members are very similar to those of the older group. It actively helps promote the goals of the Party. Its members in factories encourage workers to increase production; in schools they set a pattern of proper study habits; on cooperatives they spur farm production and more efficient work. The *Komsomol* recruits young people for heavy physical labor on construction projects in newly opened towns in Siberia. It sponsors many social and cultural activities for young adults such as dances, amateur concerts, acting and discussion groups —all with a view to furthering Communist ideology. The Young Communist League is of great value to the Communist Party, not only as a training ground for its members, but

also as a means of bringing these young adults under its wing.

Members of the Soviet youth groups, especially the *Komsomols,* hope to realize their dreams through the records they establish. This will determine in no small way their opportunity to be admitted to a university, technical school, or officer-training school in the Red Army. A good record leads to promising positions in industry, and—perhaps the greatest goal of all—membership in the Party.

Education. The Communist Party looks upon education as one very important way to further the objectives of the regime. In Chapter 6 we shall discuss the education of Soviet children. Here, we want to point out how and why education is controlled by the Party.

The Communists spend a lot of money on education, maybe more proportionately than other countries do. The Party directs the entire education program though one of its subdivisions. The central government has a very large Ministry of Education, which is responsible for the selection and training of teachers, the choice of textbooks, the contents of courses to be taught, and the numbers of students to be trained as scientists, engineers, technicians, and teachers.

During the Stalin period, young children learned to read from a textbook entitled *I Want to Be Like Stalin.* Today, all students from grammar and high schools, through the graduate and professional schools, are instructed in the basic principles of communism. Soviet reading texts, history books, and mathematics examples, all teach Communist ideas in one way or another. Naturally, students are taught that communism is superior to every other form of government or system of society.

The Secret Police. While neither the Soviet constitution nor the Communist Party program mentions the secret police, they have always been an important part of Communist rule. The name of the secret police has been changed—from Cheka to Ogpu, from NKVD to MVD and now to KGB (the "Committee of State Security")—but their functions have not changed. The KGB protects the Communist regime against enemies within

and outside the Soviet Union. It helps keep the Party in power and free from disloyal members. It runs the labor camps and prisons, where enemies of the state and criminals are kept.

Observers believe that the secret police (the word "secret" should be stressed, for their work seldom receives publicity) employ one million persons on a full-time basis and many others for special assignments.

The secret police are under the control of the Communist Party, and their head is a member of the Party *Politburo*. On occasion the head of the secret police has tried to use his position to advance himself politically. The KGB is a special "army" of the Communist Party and is an important way of keeping the people of the Soviet Union under its control.

The Red Army. The Soviet army, numbering many millions, is one of the largest in the world today. Its sheer numbers make it an important agency of Communist Party control. The major policies regarding the military services are drawn up by the *Politburo* of the Party.

Party control over the military is exercised in various ways. Political commissars ("ministers") are given officer status, and assigned to the different service units to supervise and check on the professional military officers. Representatives of these political officers are found within the Party itself, even in the *Politburo*. In an effort to link the professional military officers more closely with the Party, they have recently been given greater responsibility over officer-training schools. High-ranking representatives of the professional military staff have also been admitted to the Party.

Press, Radio and Television. The press, radio, and television in the Soviet Union are directed closely by the Party, or through its agent, the government. The Party prepares the material that is released to the press and broadcasting stations throughout the country.

All newspapers, magazines, news services, publishing houses, and broadcasting stations are owned and managed by the government. Editorial positions are filled with the approval of the

Party. The government through Tass, the official news agency, provides all the information that a Soviet citizen receives on domestic and foreign affairs. All Soviet newspapers present the same news in the same way with the same interpretation. Only the Party's official views on world events are presented to the Soviet public. Among the leading newspapers of the more than 7,500 published throughout the country are *Izvestia* ("News"), the official government paper, *Pravda* ("Truth"), the Communist Party paper, *Trud* ("Work"), the Labor Union paper, and *Komsomol Pravda,* published by the Young Communist League.

Most Soviet newspapers look alike; they generally consist of 6 pages; they carry no advertising and very few human interest stories, such as accidents, crimes, or social doings. This may be changing for, in 1968, advertising began to appear in the weekend editions of some papers. Through the pages of the Soviet newspapers, the government tells readers only what it chooses to tell them. Often distortions, and even outright lies, are permitted to appear in the papers, especially if the story deals with foreign events. This is because the Communist Party regards the news only as a means to an end—to present the Communist picture of the world and to strengthen Communist ideology among Soviet readers.

Labor Unions. Labor unions in the Soviet Union are the largest in the world; some 55,000,000 industrial workers (90 per cent of the total number) are organized into 200 industrial unions. In the United States, 14,000,000 workers (about 20 per cent of all gainfully employed) belong to one union or another.

The labor unions are in charge of various cultural and social insurance programs for their members. However, the right to strike or demand higher wages or shorter working hours is not within the province of labor unions. Only the government can fix hours and wages.

The unions are instruments of the Communist Party in that they are supervised by an All-Union Central Council of Labor Unions, which is controlled by the Party. Thus, the trade unions are another way that the Party controls the Soviet people.

SUMMARY

The U.S.S.R. is a one-party dictatorship. The Communist Party controls the various parts of the government; it actually is the government. There is a lot of window-dressing to give the outside world the idea that the Soviet Union is a "democratic" government responsive to the voice of the people. There are widespread elections; almost everybody votes, ballots are secret and the legislatures and the judges are elected by popular vote. Actually, these elected officials have very little real power. The most important source of power is the Communist Party, operating through its own *Politburo* of a dozen men, many of whom also serve in the Presidium of the Council of Ministers.

The Communist Party has total control over the Soviet Union. Its stranglehold over the government, its very strong influence over the youth, the schools, the secret police, the military forces, the news media and the trade unions, shows that it is the dominant organization in the country. It is easy to understand how 5 per cent of the people control the remaining 95 per cent.

To what extent, therefore, would you agree with the Communist leaders that the U.S.S.R. is the most democratic government in the world?

QUESTIONS AND ACTIVITIES

MULTIPLE CHOICE TEST

In each of the following you have three choices. Choose the only correct answer.

1. A totalitarian government is the opposite of a *(a)* dictatorship, *(b)* monarchy, *(c)* democracy.

2. The Soviet Union has *(a)* a written constitution, *(b)* many political parties, *(c)* a powerful legislature.

3. The lawmaking body in the Soviet government is the *(a)* All-Union Party Congress, *(b)* Supreme Soviet, *(c)* Council of Ministers.

4. Real power in the Soviet government is in the hands of *(a)* army officers, *(b)* the Supreme Court, *(c)* the Communist Party leaders.
5. Membership in the Communist Party numbers about *(a)* 5%, *(b)* 10%, *(c)* 20% of the people in the Soviet Union.
6. Like the United States, the Soviet Union *(a)* is a federal republic, *(b)* has a popularly elected president, *(c)* appoints its judges for life terms.
7. Only a small proportion of the people are members of the Communist Party because *(a)* there are few privileges, *(b)* membership is deliberately kept small, *(c)* it is easier to join the other parties.
8. The real center of authority in the Communist Party is the *(a)* Secretary of the Party, *(b)* Central Committee, *(c) Politburo.*
9. To be able to vote in the Soviet Union a person must *(a)* belong to the Communist Party, *(b)* be at least 18 years of age, *(c)* have graduated from elementary school.
10. The Soviet Ministry of Education *(a)* does not appoint teachers, *(b)* selects textbooks to be used, *(c)* does not determine the contents of courses to be taught.
11. Communist teachings reach the very young people through such organizations as *(a)* the Young Pioneers, *(b)* the Trade Union Congress, *(c)* the Supreme Soviet.
12. The main road to advancement and promotion in the Soviet Union today is *(a)* by becoming a space scientist, *(b)* through the ranks of the Communist Party, *(c)* by being a loyal and conscientious worker in a factory.
13. The Supreme Soviet is a bicameral legislature. This means *(a)* it has two houses, *(b)* it is elected by the voters, *(c)* it represents all the people in the country.
14. The Council of Ministers is similar to *(a)* the British Cabinet, *(b)* the American Cabinet, *(c)* the Chiefs of Staff.
15. The People's Courts are assisted by *(a)* professional lawyers appointed by the Supreme Soviet, *(b)* laymen who have no legal training, *(c)* juries selected by the judges.
16. The All-Union Party Congress is to the Communist Party what the Supreme Soviet is to *(a)* the Soviet government, *(b)* Soviet military forces, *(c)* Soviet scientific research.
17. The Communist Party today is controlled by *(a)* the Secretary of the Party, *(b)* collective leadership, *(c)* the head of the military forces.
18. The Soviet Bill of Rights includes such rights as *(a)* trial by jury, *(b)* freedom of the press, *(c)* free elementary and higher education.

19. Soviet citizens are careful in what they say about their government because *(a)* they want to be friends with everybody, *(b)* they are afraid of the secret police, *(c)* they feel there is nothing bad about it.
20. The official government newspaper is *(a) Trud, (b) Pravda, (c) Izvestia.*
21. The *Komsomol* is *(a)* a training ground for the Communist Party, *(b)* a secret scientific research center, *(c)* the Soviet atomic testing ground.
22. On Election Day in the Soviet Union the voters *(a)* choose between rival candidates, *(b)* boycott the election to show their opposition to the government, *(c)* find only one name on the ballot.
23. The First Secretary of the Communist Party today is *(a)* Aleksei Kosygin, *(b)* Leonid Brezhnev, *(c)* Alexander Kerensky.
24. Soviet citizens elect *(a)* the All-Union Party Congress, *(b)* the Supreme Soviet, *(c)* the *Politburo.*
25. A purge is *(a)* the removal of undesirable members from Communist Party membership, *(b)* the new party line adopted by the *Politburo, (c)* the control of the means of communication in the Soviet Union.

KEY WORDS OR PHRASES

Can you explain the meaning of the following words or phrases?

U.S.S.R.
Presidium
Politburo
civil rights
secret police
constituent republic
Supreme Soviet
U.S.S.R. Supreme Court
People's Courts
Party Secretary
Komsomol
Pravda
Izvestia
Council of Nationalities
federalism
party line
Procurator General
Tass

TRUE OR FALSE

Do you agree with the following statements? Give reasons for your answers.

1. Only Communist Party members are allowed to hold high office in the Soviet Union.
2. The Supreme Soviet is elected by all the people.

3. It is easy to become and remain a member of the Soviet Communist Party.
4. A jury trial is guaranteed to all Soviet citizens.
5. The Party Secretary is a very powerful person in the government of the Soviet Union.
6. The Marxist principle of the "withering away of the state" is gradually taking place in the Soviet Union.
7. The principle of equality between all is carried out in the Soviet Union today.
8. The Communist Party is the only political party permitted in the Soviet Union.
9. The Soviet Union has no written constitution.
10. Freedom of speech and the press exists in the Soviet Union.

CHART COMPLETION

Complete the following chart in your notebook:

	United States	*Soviet Union*
1. Form of government		
2. Legislature		
3. Executive		
4. How laws are made		
5. Checks and balances		
6. Political parties		
7. Individual liberties		

THINGS TO DO

1. Prepare a debate on the topic: "Since the Great Majority of Soviet Citizens Vote, the Soviet Union Has a Democratic Form of Government."
2. Compare the rights and guarantees of a person accused of a crime in the United States with those in the Soviet Union. Stage a trial of such an accused person with class members playing the roles of officials associated with the trial in each country.
3. Maintain a bulletin board showing newspaper clippings and pictures dealing with Soviet government and Party activities.

4. Class committees should consult *Facts on File* or *Yearbook* to report on *(a)* Khrushchev's address to the All-Union Party Congress in 1956, and *(b)* his speech to the Party Congress, in 1961, noting the contents of each; a class discussion should follow on the extent to which his ideas have been carried out since.
5. Hold an imaginary press interview in which Kosygin or Brezhnev is questioned by "reporters" (class members) about the operation and workings of the Soviet government.
6. Appoint a committee of the class to read some of the issues of *Soviet Life,* available in the school or public library, and bring back to the class as many examples of Soviet propaganda as they can find.
7. Prepare a cartoon or poster to illustrate *(a)* the relations between the Soviet government and the Communist Party, *(b)* the denial of individual liberties, *(c)* the role of the secret police in a citizen's life, *(d)* the maintenance of Communist Party control over the schools, the army, the trade unions.

Chapter 5

THE SOVIET ECONOMY

A. ORGANIZATION OF INDUSTRY

State Ownership. Article 4 of the Soviet Constitution says, "The economic foundation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is the socialist system of economy and the socialist ownership of the instruments and means of production." What are these instruments and means of production?

The Soviet Constitution says, in Article 6, "the land, its mineral wealth, waters, forests, mills, factories, mines, soil, water and air transport, banks, communications, large state-organized agricultural enterprises . . . as well as municipal enterprises and industrial localities, are state property, that is, belong to the whole people." Thus, no one person in the Soviet Union can claim individual ownership of any of these means of production. Soviet citizens share property in the collective farms and cooperative organizations. As a group, they run the farm or cooperative, manage the crops they raise or the goods they produce, but they do not own the land. The land belongs to the government, and in large measure, is operated, directly or indirectly, by the government.

Private Property and Private Business. There is, nevertheless, some privately owned property in the Soviet Union. A Soviet citizen may own and inherit many different kinds of property. He may own his own house or cooperative apartment, but not the land on which the building stands, for that belongs to the state forever. He may own such personal possessions as clothing, furniture, a car, books, jewelry, and pictures. He may own the tools of his trade. On the collective farms, each farmer has the use of a small garden plot on which he is entitled to raise crops for his family's use and keep a few cows, pigs and chickens. The farmer may sell the extra produce from his garden plot in city or town markets, at whatever price he can get, and keep the

money. Certain services, such as dressmaking, plumbing, and shoe repairing, may be privately operated. A citizen may hire out as a cook or chauffeur, since servants do not make a profit for the employer. A teacher can tutor students privately for a fee, and a doctor, in his free time after working in the government clinic, can see private patients and charge for his services. An author can write a book and collect royalties on it if it is printed and distributed by a government publishing house.

However, the average Soviet citizen is born in a government hospital, is educated in a government school, works in a government factory, and buys the goods he can afford in government stores. He travels in government trains, buses, and taxis, calls his friends on a government-owned telephone, watches government-owned television and listens to government-owned radio. He saves his money in a government bank, eats out at a government restaurant and reads a government newspaper or government-printed book. He goes to a government doctor when he is sick, and, when he dies, he is buried in a government cemetery.

Forced Industrialization. We have seen how some capitalism was encouraged in the New Economic Policy introduced by Lenin in 1922 (see page 90). For a half dozen years, private enterprise was permitted and the country slowly recovered from the devastation of years of revolution and civil war.

By 1928, when Stalin had undisputed control, he was determined to make the U.S.S.R. into the greatest industrial nation in the world, capable of defending itself against any possible enemy. Stalin used every economic resource of the country to achieve his purpose. Anybody who opposed his program was "purged." If he was a member of the Communist Party, he was expelled, punished, and sometimes executed. If he was not a Party member, he was exiled to a slave labor camp, imprisoned, or shot. Stalin lived up to his name, which means "steel."

To make an industrialized Union, Stalin needed money—lots of money. Where did he get it? From the Soviet people. The wages paid to workers were very low, but the prices they had to pay for food and other goods were very high. The profits made by the government from this squeeze financed the construction

of factories, the opening of mines, the building of power plants, and the strengthening of the military machine.

Stalin needed more and more money. He decided that he could sell wheat abroad and use the proceeds for industrialization. To obtain an exportable surplus, he forced the peasants into collective farms on which they had to produce crops under government orders and receive government-fixed prices for them. The peasants balked; they killed many of their farm animals, raised only what they needed for themselves, and destroyed all other crops to keep them out of government hands. Stalin's reaction was severe; millions of peasants were exiled, imprisoned, or killed.

In the end, the peasants lost, and Stalin won. The collective and state farms were created; the peasants, under very close supervision, became workers for the state and they produced the grain that the government sold abroad. This meant less food for his people, but Stalin considered the sacrifice essential to the welfare of the State.

Stalin's government hired thousands of European and American experts to plan and build factories, mines, and railroads, and to train Soviet workers and technicians. Foreign machinery was imported and foreign firms were encouraged to help in this wide-reaching development.

B. CENTRALIZED PLANNING

Gosplan. Stalin introduced a program of economic planning to make the Soviet Union a great industrialized country. A State Planning Commission, known as the *Gosplan,* was set up under close Party supervision, and was charged with drawing up and carrying out a very detailed program for building up Soviet industry. The plans were drawn up for five-year periods and were called "Five Year Plans."

A shoe factory, for example, estimated how much leather would be needed to produce so many pairs of shoes, how many workers would be needed to operate the machines, and what new machines would be needed to replace worn out or old ma-

chines. The same estimating was done for manufacturing airplanes, tractors, uniforms, and thousands of other items. The manufacturing estimates of the factories, mines and other installations of an area went to a regional planning commission. From there they were sent to the planning commission of the republic and finally to the *Gosplan.*

The Gosplan reviewed all these plans and needs and then determined (1) how much of each different kind of goods should be produced; (2) which factories should be built or expanded, and where, and which mines should be opened up; (3) how many workers should be employed in different industries; (4) how training and education of these needed workers should be provided; (5) how many schools, hospitals and railroad lines should be constructed, and where, and how many tons of steel and cement, how many feet of lumber, and how many textbooks and teachers would be required; (6) what prices should be charged for different goods; and (7) what wages should be paid to the different workers, and how many hours they should work.

The *Gosplan,* thus, determines how the country's resources shall be used, what shall be produced, and how that production shall be distributed. These highly detailed programs are to be accomplished in varying lengths of time. One program may be for a relatively long period—a Five Year Plan; another may be an annual production plan; another may be a monthly plan to watch how closely the annual plan is being realized. There may be even a daily plan, so that factory managers and workers may measure their production, and be stimulated to greater efforts.

Consumers' desires have had relatively little influence in these plans until recently. This is very different from the American economy—the American consumer's decision to buy this item or that has a great influence on manufacturing production. The consumer decides the goods and services that will be produced by what he chooses to buy or not to buy. Thus, the United States has a "market economy" where buyer and seller meet and agree upon a price. In the Soviet Union, on the other hand, the government decides what shall be made and at what price it will be sold.

Five Year Plans. The first Five Year Plan was introduced in 1928. Stalin expressed its purpose in these words: "We are 50 to 100 years behind the advanced countries. We must make good this lag in ten years. Either we do it or they crush us." Emphasis on this first Five Year Plan (and in succeeding ones) was on heavy industries—the plants that produce machines, or provide the materials for production. Steel output was to be doubled, coal mining was to be increased fourfold, and electric power sixfold. Dams were to be built, railroad lines constructed, and power lines completed. Almost 80 per cent of the country's budget was to be devoted to these and related projects; little was left over for clothing, food, or furniture. The Soviet consumer was expected to "pull his belt in tighter," to work harder and longer, and to wait for the future to provide him with an adequate supply of goods and comforts.

To weaken and destroy the opposition to this program, Stalin brought the trade unions under the absolute control of the Party. He purged the union leaders who resisted and replaced them with his hand-picked followers. The unions, thus, became important tools of the Party. They lost all right to represent the workers in bargaining with the state. Instead they became the transmission belt to carry orders from the state to the workers. Wages were lowered, standards of living were reduced, and hours of work were increased. The unions urged their members to make greater efforts and to keep silent about their grievances.

Stalin also put secret police into the factories to spy on the workers and report any grumbling or attempts at sabotage. Opposition to the Stalinist program was quickly crushed. Disloyal workers were sent to slave labor camps in many parts of the country. Millions of these political prisoners worked at hard labor, chopping down trees, building canals, or mining coal under very bad conditions; there was freezing weather in the Arctic Circle, and burning heat in the southern deserts. The workers were subjected to heavy penalties for being late to work or for being absent, and they were deprived of their ration cards and living quarters if their work was poor. They were not allowed to quit one job to look for another.

The battle for production was fought in many ways. The press, radio, schoolroom, and movies were all used to carry the message of "more production" to the Soviet citizen. In 1935 Stalin introduced the incentive of bonuses and other privileges to reward those workers who produced more than others. The coal miner, Alexei Stakhanov, had broken records for mining coal by breaking up the job into separate units. *Stakhanovism* became an important way to stimulate workers to still greater efforts. As the average worker's production increased, so did the amount expected from him; fines were levied on those who did not meet these quotas. This competition for rewards between workers, and also between managers of rival factories and mines, led to increasing inequality of pay among the Soviet people.

The first plan laid the basis for Soviet industrial growth. A second and a third plan were launched in 1933 and 1938, respectively. Large numbers of foreign technicians were hired to help build some of the very complex enterprises. American engineers helped to build the great Dneprostroi Dam on the Dnieper River, the great tractor plant at Stalingrad and the huge steel factory at Magnitogorsk. By 1941, thirteen years after the first plan was announced, steel production had greatly increased, electric power had made rapid gains, and coal mining had more than doubled.

The third Five Year Plan was interrupted when Germany invaded the Soviet Union in June, 1941. All the country's resources were forced into war production. As the German armies advanced, they occupied much of the western part of the U.S.S.R., together with its factories, farms, mines and railroads. The government had to move the heavy industrial plants from other areas threatened by German occupation to the safety of the Ural Mountains. This costly, wholesale transplanting of industry over great distances helped the Russians stay in the war.

The Western Allies, particularly the United States, provided a great deal of valuable aid to the Soviet Union during the war. Under the Lend-Lease agreement, the United States sent over $11 billion of supplies of all kinds—from aspirin, food and clothing to guns, ships and planes.

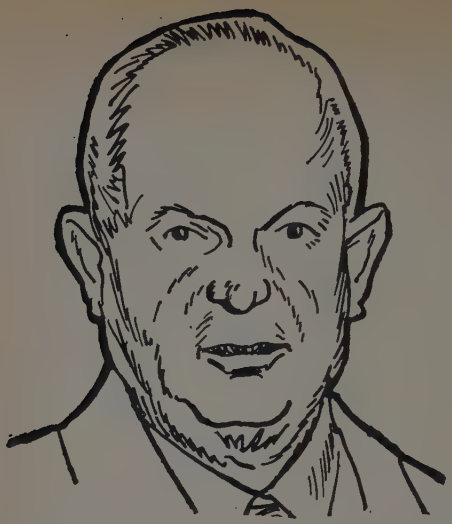
Stalin began to rebuild the country almost as soon as the war

ended. A fourth Five Year Plan was adopted in 1946, which aimed at rebuilding Soviet military and industrial power as rapidly as possible. Again Soviet living standards suffered, as the people were called upon to continue their sacrifices. By 1949, most of the wartime damage done to Soviet steel and machine industries had been repaired, and the country began producing still greater quantities of steel, oil, machinery and other goods. Stalin took over many factories and machines, and quantities of raw materials and other goods from countries in eastern and central Europe, and Manchuria and Korea—areas that had come under Soviet control during and after the war. It all helped strengthen the Soviet economy, and also made it possible for the Soviet Union to explode its first atom bomb, in 1949.

Stalin's successors, first Malenkov and then Khrushchev, in the 1950's, continued and broadened his program for industrialization. The fifth (1951) and sixth (1956) Five Year Plans continued the expansion of electric power, and the production of pig iron, steel, coal, chemical fertilizers, and farm machinery. Meanwhile heavy expenditures in scientific and space research led to the successful sending of the first *sputnik* into space orbit in 1957.

Because of its high goals, the sixth Five Year Plan had to be abandoned in 1957, and was replaced by a Seven Year Plan (1958-1965). This plan continued stress on heavy industry, but called for the increased production of consumer goods such as washing machines, radios, televisions, and refrigerators. Premier Khrushchev boasted at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party, that the Soviet Union would reach and surpass American production levels by 1970, and would become the number one industrial state in the world by 1980. His program was too ambitious, particularly his plan to increase agricultural production by cultivating Siberian lands. The very poor wheat crop of 1963, because of a severe drought, forced the government to buy nearly $1 billion of wheat from the United States, Canada, and Australia.

In 1966, the eighth Five Year Plan was adopted. This plan scales down Khrushchev's production goals to more realistic



Nikita Khrushchev succeeded Stalin in holding the highest office in both party and government. His policy of "peaceful coexistence" with the West relaxed the tensions of the Cold War. He was deposed after the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis.

figures. Greater emphasis is being placed on consumer goods. For the first time since centralized planning began, light industry (cars, radios, clothing, and other consumer items) will receive more money than heavy industry. Other consumer benefits are planned in the form of lower prices, higher wages, and increased construction of housing units to reduce the acute shortage. Probably the most important feature of this plan is the relaxation of Communist Party control over Soviet life, and the replacement of a centrally directed economy by one largely influenced by consumer demands.

C. RECENT CHANGES IN ECONOMIC PLANNING

Industrial Achievements. Soviet industry has grown remarkably in the past 50 years. In this period of time, the Soviet Union has climbed from fifth to second among the world's industrial powers. Today its gross national product (all the goods and services produced in the country) is equal to the combined GNP'S of France, West Germany, and Italy, and is about half the GNP of the United States ($335 billion, in 1966, compared to the American $740 billion).

Soviet output of steel, oil, electric power, and machine tools has shown the greatest increase in the past 50 years. Automated production lines, the use of the most modern electric computers, and very advanced high-speed electric transmission lines have contributed to this modernization of Soviet industry.

Yet oddities are found everywhere in the Soviet Union. In the same factories where products roll off automated machines, one will find old kerchief-wearing women sweeping up with brooms made of birch twigs, just as was done 100 years ago. Secretaries in offices move their desks as close to a window as possible, so that they can see to type. Few workers in Soviet plants wear hard hats, a standard safety precaution in American factories.

The consumer, a neglected figure in the Soviet economy, has suffered much in the past 50 years. He has been forced to buy what the government decided to produce for him, at prices determined by the government. Often the consumer found it difficult, if not impossible, to buy shoes, a dress, a suit, or even pots and pans, because the government had not had enough made. Quality and variety of goods were in equally short supply. Too often the clothing turned out by Soviet factories proved to be poor in quality and construction; the sewing machines had broken down and could not be repaired; the shoes lasted a very short time; the new apartment plumbing did not work, the wall paint was peeling, and the walls were crumbling.

In the last few years, consumers have become more important. Workers' wages have been increased, and their working hours have been reduced, with the result that they have more money and more time to spend it. They can compare the quality and variety of Western products sold in government-owned stores with products made in their own plants. They are saving more of their money in banks, at an interest rate of 2 to 3 per cent a year. Today, one in every four citizens has a bank account averaging about 375 rubles ($416); only one in twelve had a bank account of about 124 rubles ($137) in 1950. The people are able to travel more, as there is little control over travel within the country. They are able to buy goods now on the installment plan, a new feature that is growing rapidly.

Soviet consumers began to refuse to buy Soviet-made goods. The result was a large jump in the inventories of unsold, even unsalable goods. In 1964, for example, the goods that wound up in warehouses amounted to almost 13 billion rubles. The growth rate of Soviet industrial and agricultural production slowed down. Each year the Soviets had been able to point proudly to their continuing expanding growth—an average of between 7 and 8 per cent. In the early 1960's this rate declined to 2.5 to 3 per cent. The disastrous drought, in 1963, made it necessary to buy grain from Western countries at a cost of almost $1 billion. Military and space expenditures and internal expansion were a continuing strain. All of these factors combined to make the leaders consider seriously some reforms in the overall centralized planning for the country.

Economic Reforms. These reforms have become known as *Libermanism.* Yevsei G. Liberman, a Soviet economist, urged that profits, not the amount of goods produced, should become a more important feature of Soviet economy. In 1965, Libermanism was introduced as an experiment. By 1967, 50 per cent of all Soviet plants were operating according to the new reform rules. The food, textile, and aluminum industries were scheduled for complete conversion to the new program by the end of 1968. What is this new program?

Greater economic flexibility is a primary aim of these reforms. Managers of plants and factories have greater responsibility for determining what types of goods they should produce, how they should be produced, and at what price they should be sold. Workers and managers had previously been rewarded for meeting the production goals set by the government's economic planners—so many tons of steel, so many millions of pairs of shoes, so many thousands of radios. Now the key word is "profits." The managers are held responsible for the production and sale of the goods the Soviet consumer wants. If they meet these demands and increase their production because they are successful in filling the consumer needs (if their products sell well) and their production costs (labor and raw materials) are less than

Principal manufacturing areas and products.

the selling price, they make a profit. The profit is shared with the workers in better child-care facilities for working mothers, paid vacations, and bonuses. This gives managers and workers greater incentive to produce more goods that the consumer wants more efficiently. In short, managers must now please the customers. The supply-demand rule, so important in a capitalist economy, plus the profit motive (the Communists call it a "ruble incentive") are important changes in this new reform program.

The prospects of greater managerial freedom, plus the improved opportunity to better one's lot through one's own efforts, may lead to a "creeping capitalism" in the Soviet economy. However, the Soviet government still holds the reins of economic control—where to invest money, for what and how much, wage levels, types of products and the price structure. Some Western observers feel that these reforms are strikingly similar to those introduced by Lenin in the N.E.P. of 1922, when private initiative and some measure of capitalism were encouraged. Is the Soviet government introducing the Liberman reforms in an effort to halt the declining production rate and to put the Soviet economic machine on the upswing again, or is it a fundamental change in the Soviet economic system? Only time will tell.

D. LABOR UNIONS IN THE SOVIET UNION

Labor unions in Western countries have succeeded in improving their members' working and living conditions. Armed with the right to strike and to engage in collective bargaining, unions have secured higher wages, shorter working hours, and many other benefits. The governments of Western countries have, in general, served only as mediators to resolve disputes between unions and employers.

Labor unions exist in the Soviet Union; in fact, almost all workers belong to one union or another. Over 75 million workers, more than 45 per cent of whom are women, are members of unions. These unions are important agencies of the Party and the government. The main goal of the Soviet labor

union is to obtain greater production of goods and materials from the union members. The following are important characteristics of Soviet labor unions:

1. Soviet unions have no right (or any evident desire) to strike against the management or the government.

2. Wages are not subject to collective bargaining; they are fixed by the government, and neither the local unions nor the management has any influence over them.

3. Collective bargaining agreements, worked out between the management and the union in a particular factory, deal with items closely related to the needs of workers in that particular factory. There might be an agreement to build a new sports stadium or a housing project; an agreement might concern the way bonuses will be paid for increased production, which is the chief goal of both workers and management.

4. Soviet labor unions manage the social security system of disability insurance and old age pensions which are financed entirely by the government. The unions also manage almost all of the health resorts, rest homes, children's camps, clubs, movie houses and public libraries. In fact, the best vacation and recreational facilities in the country belong to the unions.

5. There is no unemployment insurance in the U.S.S.R. It does not exist because it is assumed that there is no unemployment. "He who does not work, does not eat" is still a fundamental rule in the Soviet Union.

6. The Soviet worker's right to work, guaranteed in Article 118 of the Soviet Constitution, means that his employer has no right to fire him or transfer him to an inferior job, except in extreme circumstances, and then only with the agreement of the local labor union. The worker can be legally dismissed if he is careless in his work, if he is absent too frequently without reason, or if he is frequently drunk. If he loses his job because of automation or technological changes, the management must find him a new job before he is dismissed, or even retrain him for another type of job.

Soviet women can be seen working shoulder to shoulder with men at such jobs as laying bricks or plastering walls.

7. Absolute equality in employment—wages, hours, and type of work performed—exists between men and women. Because wages have generally been low and prices high, most women have been forced to work outside of the home. It is not unusual to see women engaged in heavy jobs like house construction, machine production, or paving and repairing streets or roads which, in Western countries, are reserved almost entirely for men.

E. COMPARISON OF AMERICAN AND SOVIET PRODUCTIVITY

The standard of living is the amount of goods, both necessities and comforts, that a person can obtain because of his income, the level of prices and the quantity of goods produced. Americans are said to have the highest standard of living in the world because American industries turn out the greatest quantities and varieties of consumer goods, and because their income is the highest in the world. They can, therefore, afford more food, clothing, furniture, and cars than any other people. It is interest-

ng to compare American and Soviet levels in some important and characteristic aspects of living as seen in the following table:

COMPARISON OF PRODUCTIVITY

Item	*U.S.S.R.*	*U.S.A.*
Gross national product	$335 billions	$740 billions
Per capita income	$ 940	$ 2,940
Average monthly factory wage	$ 137.50	$ 450
Motor vehicles produced	813,000*	11,000,000
Telephones	6,500,000	84,000,000
Television sets	11,800,000	60,000,000
Radios	60,000,000	183,000,000
Shoes (pairs)	570,000,000	630,000,000
Washing machines	320,000	8,000,000
Vacuum cleaners	245,000	8,000,000
Refrigerators	210,000	14,500,000

* Comparison in units.

Another interesting comparison is the work time required to buy various consumer items in the two countries.

WORK TIME REQUIRED TO BUY ITEMS

Item	*U.S.S.R.*	*U.S.A.*
Coffee (1 pound)	1 hour, 12 minutes	15 minutes
Eggs (1 dozen)	1 hour, 14 minutes	14 minutes
Man's suit	174 hours	28 hours
Ladies' fur-lined boots	84 hours	5 hours
Car	889 days	75 days
Potatoes (1 pound)	7 minutes	1.7 minutes
Butter (1 pound)	3 hours, 16 minutes	14 minutes
Man's shirt	14 hours, 10 minutes	1 hour, 20 minutes
Beef (1 pound)	1 hour, 44 minutes	29 minutes

PRODUCTION OF MAJOR RESOURCES

Item	*U.S.S.R.*	*U.S.A.*
Bauxite	4,700,000*	2,022,00
Cement	72,388,000	65,078,00
Coal	473,000,000	475,000,00
Copper	750,000	1,226,00
Iron ore	89,000,000	50,400,00
Petroleum	242,900,000	384,900,00
Steel	96,900,000	121,600,00
Electric power (in K.w.h.)	506,709,000	1,157,000,00
Butter	1,182,000	609,00
Cattle (head)	87,000,000	107,000,00
Cheese	309,000	1,082,00
Cotton	1,865,000	3,256,00
Milk	61,565,000	56,727,00
Potatoes	88,676,000	13,144,00
Sugar	9,691,000	3,767,00
Wheat	59,686,000	36,108,00

* Metric tons, unless otherwise stated.

F. SOVIET AGRICULTURE

Before the Communist Revolution, 85 per cent of the Russia people were farmers. Many of them did not own their land, bu farmed land that was owned by the village community, or *mi* (see page 57). The greatest demand of the peasants before an after the Bolsheviks took over the government was "land, land and more land."

Under Lenin's New Economic Policy (1919-1922), peasant were permitted to sell some of their crops on the open market and *kulaks* (rich peasants) were encouraged to increase produc tion by more efficient farming techniques. Stalin's forced collec tivization of the peasants, however, brought all the peasant under direct control of the government.

Today Soviet agriculture is organized into *kolkhozes* (collective farms) and *sovkhozes* (state farms). A *kolkhoz* is a collective farm that consists of some 400 to 500 families, who cultivate between 10,000 and 15,000 acres of land. The farm machinery and farm animals are owned collectively by all. There are about 37,000 such collective farms in the Soviet Union. They farm two-fifths of all the agricultural land, and employ about 27 per cent of the total labor force.

The members of the *kolkhoz* divide the many jobs on the large farm among themselves on the basis of skills and abilities. Some are the farmers who plant, take care of, and harvest the crops. Others are mechanics, dairymen, bookkeepers, even teachers in the schoolrooms set up on the farm. Each person is paid according to the job he does—the crops he raises or the service he performs.

The government, through the manager of the *kolkhoz,* determines what crops should be raised, the amount to be produced, the amount of each crop that must be sold to the government, and the price for the crops. If the *kolkhoz* produces more than the state's quota, it is permitted to sell the remainder in the open market. Some of this income is set aside for crop insurance, new buildings, the purchase of farm machinery, and other expenses, as decided by the members. The rest is divided among the families, on the basis of the work they do.

Each peasant family on a collective farm is also given one acre of land on which it can operate as a small private enterprise, planting whatever it wishes. The family can also own a cow, several pigs or sheep, and an unlimited number of chickens. The surplus can be sold in the free market in the cities or towns. About 30 per cent of a collective farm family's income comes from this small plot of land; the rest comes from its share in the income of the collective farm. It is important to note that these small plots of individually operated land, which are less than 5 per cent of the total cultivated area, produce 40 per cent of the meat and milk, 60 per cent of the potatoes and 66 per cent of the eggs in all of the Soviet Union.

A *sovkhoz* is a state farm and is much larger than a collective

Armenian women working on a collective farm listen to a lecture on their Soviet election laws. They take suffrage seriously.

farm. It averages over 60,000 acres, employs six and one-half million workers, and cultivates 44 per cent of the total cultivated area of the country. There are 12,000 *sovkhozes* in the Soviet Union; they are operated as experimental stations. The workers on these farms are state employees who are paid a regular wage, regardless of how much they produce. These farms are more heavily mechanized than the *kolkhozes;* their productivity is also much higher.

Weaknesses of Agriculture. The most serious failure of the Soviet planning program has been in the field of agriculture. Simply stated, the Soviet Union had not been able to raise the amount of foodstuffs needed by its population, which has greater purchasing power brought about by higher wages and greater industrialization. Why is agriculture the one major Soviet failure? There are several reasons.

1. Much of the Soviet land is not suitable for farming. It is estimated that only about 10 per cent of the more than 8,500,000 square miles of the Soviet Union can be used for agriculture. In 1966, some 496,000,000 acres were under the plow (about the same as in the United States which is less than half as big as the U.S.S.R.) but much of the land is not good land. The

land requires a steady annual supply of rain, which does not always come, and it needs artificial fertilizers to renew the nitrates and phosphates taken out of the soil by cultivation.

2. Soviet farming is very backward. More than one-third of the farms do not have electricity. There is a serious shortage of tractors and other farm machinery. Modern agricultural technology is lacking, and there are insufficient quantities of fertilizer available. Many peasants continue to raise crops in the traditional ways they know, and they do not want to change to newer methods or other crops. Almost half the Soviet population is needed to raise the crops. In the United States, only 5 per cent of the population is engaged in agricultural production.

3. Incentive is lacking. The average peasant devotes his spare time to his own plot of land, raising his crops with much care and attention, for they are his very own. He can sell whatever he produces and keep the money. On the *kolkhoz,* on the other hand, the peasant does not have the incentive to work harder and harder because he does not control what to raise, how to raise it, or the payment he will get for his efforts.

Drought is a perpetual danger to Soviet agriculture. The shortages of meat, butter, and eggs, in 1961-1962, caused by the increase in population and higher consumer purchasing power, were aggravated seriously by the drought of 1963. Shortages of wheat forced the government to buy quantities of wheat from foreign countries again in 1966.

Khrushchev attempted to increase agricultural production by utilizing lands in western Siberia and Kazakhstan. The experiment failed because irrigation plans (water was essential to these lands) were not adequately developed, and the winds blew across the plains taking valuable topsoil with them and stripping the land of its fertility.

Efforts to Improve Production. In 1966 and 1967, the government made several reforms to increase agricultural production. Collective and state farms were allowed to pay lower prices for machinery and parts that they purchased from the state. Collective farmers, for the first time, received a guaranteed minimum monthly wage at the same rate of pay as for farmers on state

farms. This meant a monthly wage of $80—a large increase from the previous $38 they had received.

Handicraft and small-scale industries were encouraged on collective and state farms, so that the farmers would not be idle during the winter months. More emphasis was placed on the production of tractors for farm use, and on the manufacture of fertilizers, which will permit more intensive cultivation and increase output per acre. The government sponsored extensive educational programs to teach farmers the essentials of scientific agriculture.

In 50 years of Communist control, the Soviets have not yet become agriculturally self-sufficient; they cannot produce all the food needed by their people.

SUMMARY

Let us summarize the main features of the Soviet economic system, as described in this chapter:

1. The Soviet Union is a socialist state which owns almost all the means of production and distribution—steel mills, railroads, banks, department stores, power plants, tractor factories.

2. Some private property is permitted in the Soviet Union—houses or cooperative apartments, clothing, furniture, cars, tools, radios, and television sets.

3. Almost everybody works for the government in a factory, office, department store, school, farm or mine.

4. Through a program of centralized planning, the government decides what shall be produced and how, and at what price it will be sold.

5. These centralized programs are planned on a long-range basis—Five Year Plans.

6. Recent reforms are introducing such capitalistic features as the profit motive, and demands of consumers.

7. The Soviet Union has become a great industrial power, second only to the United States.

8. Labor unions in the Soviet Union are very different from American labor unions.

9. Soviet agriculture is organized in collective farms, controlled by the government.

10. Soviet agriculture remains the big unsolved problem—it has not been able to meet the food needs of the population.

11. Housing remains a serious problem for city dwellers—there are not enough accommodations, and what housing is available is of poor quality.

12. Soviet standards of living are still low by American standards, but are improving slowly.

QUESTIONS AND ACTIVITIES

MULTIPLE CHOICE TEST

In each of the following there are three choices. Choose the only correct answer.

1. A socialist state is one in which *(a)* there is limited suffrage, *(b)* industry and agriculture are publicly owned, *(c)* industry and agriculture are privately owned.
2. On a *sovkhoz* the farmers work for *(a)* a part of the crops, *(b)* fixed wages, *(c)* their own profits.
3. The State Planning Commission is *(a)* the Presidium, *(b)* *kolkhoz*, *(c)* *Gosplan*.
4. Centralized economic planning was introduced by *(a)* Lenin, *(b)* Stalin, *(c)* Khrushchev.
5. The major purpose of the Five Year Plans was to *(a)* increase output of consumer goods, *(b)* destroy the independence of the trade unions, *(c)* develop heavy industries.
6. *Stakhanovism* was the *(a)* rewarding of workers for greater output, *(b)* launching of the first space missile, *(c)* increasing of agricultural efficiency.
7. Soviet labor unions *(a)* have won benefits for their members through strikes, *(b)* secured higher wages by direct action, *(c)* manage the social security program.
8. The introduction of automated machinery will not bring about unemployment because the displaced worker *(a)* is guaranteed a job, *(b)* will be allowed to retire, *(c)* can become a farmer on his own land.
9. On a *kolkhoz*, the members *(a)* own the lands they work, *(b)* sell a fixed amount of their crops to the government and the balance in the open market, *(c)* work for fixed wages.

10. One of the major handicaps of Soviet agriculture is *(a)* short ages of workers, *(b)* unskilled farmers, *(c)* insufficient farm machinery.
11. One of the unusual features of the Soviet economy is *(a)* th large number of women employed, *(b)* the achievement of th position as the number one industrial state in the world, *(c)* th freedom of opportunity permitted in industry.
12. An example of private property in the Soviet Union is *(a)* th ownership of a small factory producing shoes, *(b)* a landlor renting apartments, *(c)* possession of a car or the tools of one trade.
13. Stalin raised the money needed to bring about Soviet industria ization by *(a)* encouraging consumer production and distribu tion, *(b)* low wages and long hours for workers, *(c)* hirin foreign technicians to train Soviet workers.
14. When severe droughts have affected agricultural productio the Soviet government has *(a)* been forced to buy wheat fro foreign countries, *(b)* increased the use of agricultural machin ery, *(c)* forced farmers to work in factories.
15. Consumer goods in the Soviet Union *(a)* have been of hig quality, *(b)* are produced in sufficient quantities for all, *(c* have been of poor quality and insufficient quantity.
16. The consumer in the Soviet Union has become more importan in recent years because *(a)* he has more money with which t buy goods, *(b)* he has been educated to be a wiser shopper, *(c* the labor unions have encouraged their members to deman greater varieties of goods.
17. Under a new program being tried in Soviet industry, manager of plants will have greater responsibility for *(a)* the wage workers receive, *(b)* the hours of work, *(c)* the quality an variety of goods produced.
18. The main emphasis of Soviet industry until recently was o *(a)* improving the quality of goods, *(b)* increasing the amoun of goods, *(c)* lengthening the work week.
19. Soviet production per worker is lower than American produc tion because of *(a)* insufficient electric power to operate th factories, *(b)* fewer machines to use, *(c)* inadequate natura resources.
20. Although the Soviet Union is the largest country in the world about *(a)* 10%, *(b)* 20%, *(c)* 30% of its land is usable fo agriculture.
21. A large proportion of meat, milk and eggs is raised on *(a)* th *sovkhozes*, *(b)* the *kolkhozes*, *(c)* the small plots of individuall operated farm lands.

22. Soviet food production *(a)* has increased more rapidly than industrial production, *(b)* has improved so that there is adequate food for all, *(c)* has not been able to meet the food needs of the population.
23. The one form of social insurance that does not exist in the Soviet Union is *(a)* old age insurance, *(b)* unemployment insurance, *(c)* medical insurance.
24. Women are paid *(a)* lower wages, *(b)* the same wages, *(c)* higher wages, for the same type of work as men.
25. The Soviet gross national product is *(a)* equal to that of the United States, *(b)* higher than that of the United States, *(c)* about half that of the United States.

KEY WORDS AND PHRASES

Can you explain the meaning of the following words or phrases?

Gosplan	*Stakhanovism*	*sovkhoz*
Five Year Plan	gross national product	*kolkhoz*
market economy	*Libermanism*	social insurance
heavy industry	"creeping capitalism"	production quota

CHART COMPLETION

Complete the following charts in your notebook.

AGRICULTURE

	Soviet Union	*United States*
1. Ownership of land		
2. Farming methods		
3. Crops raised		
4. Machinery used		

LABOR UNIONS

	Soviet Union	*United States*
1. Membership		
2. Objectives		
3. Methods used to gain these		

TRUE OR FALSE

Do you agree with the following statements? Give reasons f your answers.

1. Soviet agriculture is privately owned and operated.
2. Workers in the Soviet Union receive equal wages for t same kind of work.
3. Labor unions in the Soviet Union are similar to Americ labor unions.
4. Government planning in economic life is very important the Soviet Union.
5. There is no private property in the Soviet Union.
6. Soviet standards of living are improving slowly.
7. The Soviet Union is the world's greatest industrialized state.
8. The profit motive and greater worker incentives are part the economic reform movement known as *Libermanism.*
9. Soviet agriculture is highly productive.
10. The Ural Mountains are rich in important minerals.

THINGS TO DO

1. Make a map of the Soviet Union locating the chief agricu tural products.
2. Draw a cartoon or poster illustrating *(a)* Soviet agricultur backwardness, *(b)* employment of women in heavy industr *(c)* the hydro-electric industry.
3. Make a series of graphs illustrating the comparative productio of the Soviet Union and the United States of important co sumer and agricultural products. Use the *World Almanac* c any other reference book.
4. Invite a trade union leader in your community to talk to th class on "American Labor Unions" and then have a class di cussion, comparing these with Soviet unions.
5. Imagine you are a Soviet farmer. Describe a typical day's wor or activities.
6. Appoint a class committee to investigate and report back t the class on the economic changes recommended by Liberma
7. Write a composition on the topic: "The Soviet Consumer: H Problems and Complaints."

Chapter 6

SOVIET CULTURE AND SOCIETY

A. EDUCATION

From the moment they seized power, Communist leaders used the schools to create the "ideal" Soviet citizen. This citizen would be dedicated to Communist principles, ready to obey the orders of his leaders, and trained to be an industrious worker in the new Communist state.

The Communists have done a remarkable job in educating their people. When they took control, in 1917, about 75 per cent of the people could not read or write. There were fewer than 10 million children in the elementary and secondary schools, less than one third of the children of school age.

Today, there are over 200,000 schools in the Soviet Union. Almost 50 million young people attend the public schools, and there are more than 4 million students in the colleges and universities. In the United States, there are also about 50 million children in public and private schools, but there are more than 6½ million students in institutions of higher learning. In both countries there is little illiteracy—about 5 per cent in the Soviet Union, and about half that percentage in the United States.

Organization of the School System. Education, from pre-kindergarten through the university, is controlled by the state. The Minister for Education and the Minister for Higher Education serve in the Soviet cabinet. They are members of the Communist Party, and their assistants, be they the Rector of Moscow University or the principal of a secondary school, are also Party members. This is another example of the close relationship between the Party and the government.

The Soviet Constitution guarantees the citizens of the U.S.S.R. the right to education, from the elementary school through the university. Soviet education is a free, compulsory eight-year program. Starting at the age of seven, the student spends four years

in elementary school and four more years in what is called an "incomplete secondary school." He may continue his education for two more years in an academic program to prepare him for admission to a university, or he may attend a vocational high school where he will receive training as a textile worker, farm laborer, or sales clerk. Or he may go to a *technikum* (technical high school) to be trained as an electrician, ship navigator, architectural or mining technician, or laboratory assistant. For students who show talent in the arts, mathematics, or sciences, there are special secondary schools. Future army and navy officers are trained in military schools. There are some expensive boarding schools which are really preparatory schools for university admission; however, only favored families and important officials can afford to send their children to these schools.

Young people who leave school after eight years of education may attend evening schools to complete their secondary education and receive a diploma. By 1970 the Soviet school authorities hope to have established a ten-year compulsory school program, with a choice, after the eighth year, either to continue in an academic high school to prepare for college, or to switch to a vocational high school. Many secondary schools today are associated with a factory or a farm where students receive the vocational training that will enable them to become useful and productive members of society.

Schools in rural areas are not so well equipped as the urban schools, nor do they have the same quality of education. Many rural districts do not offer more than the eight-year compulsory education program. Those students who show ability to continue into the two-year college preparatory program are sent to such schools in nearby cities.

The Curriculum. The program of Soviet schools is different in many respects from that followed in an American school.

Soviet children go to school an average of six hours a day, six days a week (there is talk of reducing this to a five-day week). The school year is long—there is no extensive summer vacation. Instead, there are ten-day vacations in winter and spring and several national holidays. Thus, Soviet students go

to school about 60 more days a year than Americans do. The longer school day, week, and year make for a more intensive program of study.

The school work concentrates heavily on mathematics and science. By the time a student finishes a ten-year program, he will have studied mathematics for ten years, physics for five years, chemistry and biology each for four years, and a foreign language (English and German are the most popular) for five years. In addition, he will have studied Russian language and literature, geography and history, astronomy and geology, mechanical drawing, shop work (woodworking, metal working, or mechanics), music and physical education.

Soviet pupils are expected to spend several hours every night on homework; their class work is based on this home study. Memorization is stressed; there is very little class discussion. The questions the teacher asks are based almost entirely on the homework. Every Soviet pupil carries a blue "day book" with him throughout his years in school in which his grades are entered, along with daily teacher comments. His parent must sign the book to show that he is aware of his child's weekly progress.

There are few examinations given in the course of the year, but all students must take examinations that are the same all over the Soviet Union. These examinations are made up by officials in the Ministry of Education, not by the individual teachers. If students pass these examinations they are promoted to the next grade. If they fail, they must repeat the work in the next year. About one out of eight students graduates from the ten-year program, and about 20 per cent of the graduates go on to college or university.

Thus, there is a great deal of uniformity in the Soviet school system. This is not only true of examinations, but also of the textbooks and curricula. All students in the same grade throughout the Union study from the same textbooks and follow the same course of study. No changes are permitted without special permission of the proper government authority, and this permission is seldom given. No election of subjects was permitted (except foreign language) until recently. On a limited basis, stu-

dents are now permitted to choose from several courses in the 9th and 10th grades. Identical "uniforms" or dress are no longer worn by students.

In the classes in Russian, which is taught to all of the students every year (just as English is in the United States), reading, not writing, is stressed. There is much emphasis on outlining material. Soviet students are generally weak in written expression but strong in oral work.

It is not easy to be admitted to one of the 760 colleges, institutes, and universities. There is not enough room for all who would like to continue their education beyond the secondary school. Admission is on the basis of grades received on entrance examinations, which are very difficult and highly competitive.

Advanced education is free. Most college and university students receive living expenses, and all receive free tuition and textbooks. The amount of money a student receives depends on the grades he makes while in college; the higher his grades, the more he gets, up to a maximum of 35 rubles a month. About 80 per cent of the university students receive some financial support from the government. If a student's grades are poor he receives no government support, then his family must help. Even 30-35 rubles ($33-38) is not enough to live on, in spite of free tuition and textbooks.

Mathematics, science, and engineering students receive the most consideration and the best treatment from the government. These technical studies are very well taught; the most modern equipment and the latest and newest texts are used. A large proportion of students in engineering, physics, and medicine are women. The Soviet Union, with its emphasis on these fields, is turning out more engineers and scientists than the United States is.

The humanities (history, Russian literature and other subjects) do not attract the best students, nor are research and original work in these fields given priorities. Students find it difficult to use foreign books in studying history. Permission of the university authorities is needed, and this may take weeks to get, if at all.

Soviet teachers receive a lot of respect from their students, the parents of their students, and the community in general. This is partly because of the white collar nature of their position. However, their salary range is lower than that of a skilled factory worker or a hard-working waiter, each of whom can make twice as much as a teacher. A teacher's basic salary in secondary school is from 100 to 135 rubles a month ($110 to $150); an elementary school teacher receives less. University professors receive five times as much as do high school teachers. Teachers are encouraged to work overtime for extra pay so as to increase their income. They tutor students for the uniform university examinations; they work with students after school hours in the daytime, particularly with pupils whose parents work and do not come home till 6 p.m. or later.

Role of Indoctrination. The Soviet government uses every means to drive home Communist theory. Education is one of the most important areas in which the Party stresses to its young people the advantages of communism over capitalism, and the superiority of its form of government over the Western democracies.

All secondary school students must take a course on the Soviet Constitution, plus a year's study in political science. All college students, regardless of the specialty they are studying, must take courses in dialectical materialism (see page 78), the history of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union, and of Marxist communism. Classroom teaching strengthens indoctrination. Soviet children are taught that there is an answer for everything, and the Communist answer is the "correct" one. The illustrations and examples used in classroom work bring out Communist theories, always to the disadvantage of any others. Students are not encouraged to look for answers other than those given to them by their teachers or mentioned in their textbooks, nor are they encouraged to ask questions, for this might lead to doubt about Communist principles.

The official syllabus (1966) on the teaching of history says that this subject "plays an enormous role in the general education and Communist upbringing of the younger generation, which

is to take an immediate part in building up Communist society . . . it must bring home to pupils that the downfall of capitalism and the victory of communism are inevitable . . . of particular importance . . . is the thorough study of the current stage of Communist construction, stressing the role of the Communist Party as the leading, guiding and directing force of the Soviet society."

A Soviet textbook in the early grades says this about America today: "The imperialists in the U.S.A. strive for world conquest; they create military blocs and, in the interest of personal gain, desire that wars should never end on the globe . . . The most consistent fighter for the interests of the American people is the Communist Party." No mention is made in Soviet history books of the invaluable $11 billion of aid given to the U.S.S.R. by the American government during World War II, or of the food aid given to the U.S.S.R. by Americans during the famine years of 1919-1921 or 1930-1932. Nor is there any reference to the great progress made by American workers in the past 50 years in social insurance, union protection, and higher living standards. Pictures of slums, of unemployed people, and of race riots appear very frequently in Soviet newspapers as typical examples of conditions in the American imperialist nation. Such terms as "aggressor" and "imperialist" are very frequently linked with the United States in speeches, news articles, radio broadcasts, and textbooks.

This one-sided approach to historical and social problems leaves little opportunity for discussion and analysis. Therefore, most Soviet students grow up to become adults who cannot imagine that anything exists other than what they have been taught to believe and accept as "the truth." The omissions, distortions, half-truths, even lies, create a sea of misunderstanding between the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and those of many other countries, the United States in particular. From the Communist point of view, however, this type of education will prepare their young people for the life they will lead as members of a planned society, in which real decisions will be made *for* them, not *by* them.

B. SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Interest in science goes back to the establishment of the Academy of Sciences by Peter the Great in 1724. The Soviet government has at times claimed credit for the invention of the automobile and the telephone, which is, of course, an exaggeration of historical fact. Nevertheless many notable Russian scientists made significant contributions to scientific knowledge before the Soviets came into power. Among these leaders of scientific research and discovery in the pre-Soviet days, one may mention:

Mikhail Lomonosov (1711-1765). His experiments anticipated the mechanical nature of heat and the kinetic theory of gases.

Dmitri Mendeleyev (1834-1907). His classification of the chemical elements, called Periodic Law, is still used today.

Elie Metchnikov (1845-1916). He developed the theory that certain white corpuscles (phagocytes) ingest and destroy bacteria. He received the Nobel Prize in 1908.

Ivan Pavlov (1849-1936). His work in psychology, especially on conditioned reflexes, won him the Nobel Prize in 1904.

Alexander Popov (1859-1905). He discovered radio-telegraphy.

Under the Soviets, the scientists and technicians have been supported, even pampered, by the government. Much money is being spent on scientific research in many fields—meteorology, computer analysis, nuclear reactors, biophysics, and astronomy. Specially equipped "scientific cities," for research in these and other fields, are being built by the government. Highly trained scientists, using the latest equipment, seek solutions to such varied problems as the use of atomic-powered ice-breakers in the northern waters of the Arctic Circle, the transmission of electric power over great distances, the conversion of petroleum products into organic matter, the replacement of lost human limbs, the development of potato seed that could be grown in different parts of the country, and the application of computer mechanics to problems of manufacturing. These *akademgorods* or "scientific cities" are being established in various parts of

the country—at Novosibirsk, at Dubna on the Volga River, a Irkutsk, near the Angara River, and Obninsk, near Moscow At these places scientists are very well paid, and are among th most respected members of society.

The degree of freedom for research in the Soviet Union o the basis of available evidence is open to question. All th findings of the Soviet scientists must be made to agree wit Communist philosophy. For example, during Stalin's period o control, a biologist named Trofim Lysenko developed a theor of genetics in which he stated that human nature could b molded by environment to such an extent that acquired charac teristics could be inherited. To the Communist leaders of th time, this was justification for their efforts to create the new Soviet man. Although Western scientists pointed out the falseness of this theory, Stalin supported Lysenko and jailed those Sovie scientists who disagreed with his theory. Just before Stalin's death, however, Lysenko fell out of the dictator's favor and since then his theories have been discounted. Today Sovie genetecists follow the research of Western scientists, and Ly senko no longer represents Soviet thought in this field. The Soviets, however, have made much progress in science, as is seen in the following chart.

SOVIET SCIENTISTS

Name	*Field*	*Accomplishment*
Nikolai Semenov	Chemistry, 1956*	Theory of chain reactions
Igor Tanim, Pavel Cherenkov Ilya Frank	Physics, 1958*	Work in radiation and cosmic rays
Lev Landau	Physics, 1962*	Work with liquid helium
Nikolai Basov, Alexander Prokhorov, Charles Townes (U.S.A.)	Physics, 1964*	Work with laser beams
Peter Kapitsa	Physics	Work on atomic energy
A. N. Tupelov	Physics	Work in aerodynamics
Izrail Gelfand Mikhail Lavrentiev	Mathematics	Work in mathematics
Gersh Budker Stanislav Rodionov	Physics	Work in nuclear physics
Guri Marchuk	Mathematics	Work with computers

* Won Nobel Prize.

The studies and research of these and other men and women are attracting much respectful world attention. More and more of their findings are being translated into Western languages so that their contributions will become part of the world's store of knowledge.

There has been some relaxation of Party restraints on Soviet scientists in recent years, but freedom is far from complete. No scientist publicly challenges the basic philosophy of dialectical materialism, although it is largely ignored in some fields, such as physics and biology. However, the hand of the government, with its financial support, may be withdrawn at any moment when too much independence is asserted by the scientist or technician.

C. EXPLORATION OF SPACE

On October 4, 1957, the world was amazed by a Soviet announcement that they had successfully launched a *sputnik* ("satellite" or "traveling companion") which circled the earth every one and a half hours at an altitude up to 580 miles in space. This accomplishment, by a nation then regarded by many Western countries as a backward, agricultural state, brought the Soviet Union praise which it had seldom received before. Since that memorable day, the Soviets have pursued the exploration of space with much vigor and success. Among the many "firsts" of the Soviet Union in the space race (for the United States was spurred to greater efforts to surpass the Soviet feats) are the following:

First earth satellite—Sputnik I, 1957
First satellite to carry an animal—Sputnik II, 1957
First photographs of the hidden side of the moon—Luna III, 1959
First man in space—Yuri Gagarin, 1961
First woman in space—Valentina Tereshkova, 1963
First three-man satellite—Voshkod I, 1964
First "walk" in space—Aleksei Leonov, 1965
First instrument landing on the moon—Luna IX, 1966
First aircraft landing on Venus—Venus IV, 1967

Americans have duplicated almost all of these feats, and have even surpassed some of them. The first American to orbit the earth was John Glenn, in 1962. The Gemini 7 flight, in 1965, was the longest flight in space, lasting two weeks. The United States made the first successful docking or linking up of two spacecraft, in 1966. Americans discovered the radiation belts encircling the earth, took superior photographs of the moon, developed weather forecasting satellites and built "Early Bird" communications satellites to transmit the human voice, television and teletype across oceans and continents. Both countries are seriously engaged in a race to be the first to put a man on the moon and return him safely to earth. Huge sums for research and development are being spent to attain this goal. The United States hopes to do this by 1970. The Soviets do not put a date on their efforts, but are confident they will be the first.

The Soviets spend more for their space program in proportion to their resources than the United States does—about $4.5 billion annually, compared to America's $5 billion. It is estimated that almost one and one-half million Russians are directly involved in its planning, production, and operation.

The Soviet space program has aroused great national pride, and it stands as a symbol of national accomplishment. Each major space feat receives not only national but also world-wide attention, and it is used as further propaganda for the superiority of the Communist system. "The success of the Soviet people in this field," Leonid Brezhnev once said, "is a concentrated expression of our growth. In it the economic might of the Soviet power, the level to which our technology has risen, the creativity of the Soviet society is embodied." This summarizes very well the role that the space program plays in the Soviet scheme of life.

D. SOVIET LITERATURE

Although few people could read and write in the Russia of the 19th century, the country produced some of the greatest writers of all times. One cannot overlook the gifted pens of

such authors as Alexander Pushkin (1799-1837), known for his poem "Eugene Onegin" and his historical drama *Boris Godonov;* and the poet Michael Lermontov (1814-1841) whose "The Demon," "The Angel" and others reveal beauty of thought and description; Ivan Turgenev (1818-1883), best known for his *Fathers and Sons;* and Feodor Dostoevsky (1822-1881), whose novels *The Idiot, Brothers Karamazov* and *Crime and Punishment* are still read widely. Nikolai Gogol (1809-1852) wrote about the system of serfdom in Russia in his novel *Dead Souls* and ridiculed Russian government officials in his play *The Inspector General.* Count Leo Tolstoy (1828-1910) is famous for his novels *War and Peace* and *Anna Karenina,* which have become world classics. Anton Chekhov (1860-1904) is the best known of Russia's playwrights; his plays *The Three Sisters, Uncle Vanya,* and *The Cherry Orchard* are still performed all over the world. Maxim Gorky (1868-1936), whose famous play, *The Lower Depths,* about the victims of an unfair society, has been glorified by the Soviets because he expresses contempt for the pre-Soviet culture.

These writers gave Russian literature a fine reputation, which the Soviets have tried to uphold. But it is not easy to be a writer in the Soviet Union today. All publishing is done by the Communist Party. It controls the printing presses, the publishing houses, the newspapers and magazines, the book distribution centers, the libraries, and above all, the censors. Every book or article appearing in print in the country must first be read and approved by the government censor.

All writing must follow the "Party line," which means that every work must serve the Communist program. One cannot criticize or disagree with any aspect of this program. Sergei Yesenin, a young revolutionary poet, committed suicide in 1925, as did Vladimir Mayakovsky in 1930, and Marina Tsvetayeva in 1941, because of restrictions on what they were saying and writing. Others were jailed and exiled, as was Osip Mandelstahn, a great poet, who died in one of Stalin's concentration camps in 1938.

The best known case of Party control over writers was that

of Boris Pasternak and his novel, *Dr. Zhivago*. His manuscript was rejected by the Soviet magazine to which he had submitted it because it criticized certain aspects of the Russian Revolution. It was published abroad in 1957, and the following year, Pasternak was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature. An official campaign was launched against his book, and a government order prohibited his accepting the prize or leaving the country to attend the presentation in Stockholm. Since his death, two years later, there has been a relaxation of the ban on his works. Today, a marble shaft over his tomb has been erected by his many admirers and it is visited by many during the year.

Since Stalin's death, there has been a loosening of restrictions and a gradual relaxation of controls over poets and novelists. For example, in 1962, Alexander Solzhenitsyn had a book published in the Soviet Union called *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*. It described the severe cruelty in Stalin's forced labor camps. It was allowed to be published as a reaction against the absolute power wielded by Stalin. When the Soviet writer Michael Sholokhov won the Nobel Prize for literature in 1965, for his book, *And Quiet Flows the Don,* he was allowed to accept it—possibly because the Soviets wanted the world to know that censorship was much less severe than before and partly to use it as propaganda for Soviet excellence in writing.

In recent years, many young Soviet poets have been allowed to read their works before large audiences throughout the country and have also been permitted to travel abroad for lecture tours and poetry readings. Yevgeny Yevtushenko and Andrey Voznesensky are among the better known writers who have visited the United States.

However, the Communist Party still maintains control over literature. In 1965, two Soviet writers, Andrei Sinyavsky and Yuli Daniel, were accused of having their novels and stories, which criticized the Soviet regime, smuggled out of the country and published abroad. For this they were tried, found guilty of anti-Soviet propaganda, and sentenced to jail. When other young writers organized demonstrations to protest these sentences, some of them were arrested, and, in 1967, were also found guilty of anti-Soviet propaganda and sentenced to jail. When their trial

Михаи́л Ю́рьевич Ле́рмонтов

ПА́РУС

Белéет пáрус одинóкой
В тумáне мóря голубóм. —
Что́ и́щет óн в странé далёкой?
Что́ ки́нул óн в краю́ роднóм?

Играю́т вóлны, вéтер свúщет,
И мáчта гнётся и скрыпи́т;
Увы́, — óн счáстия не и́щет
И не от счáстия бежи́т! —

Под ни́м струя́ светлéй лазу́ри,
Над ни́м лу́ч сóлнца золото́й: —
А óн, мятéжный, прóсит бу́ри,
Как бу́дто в бу́рях éсть поко́й!
(*1832 г.*)

"The Sail"—M. Y. Lermontov

A lonely sail whitens
Into the pale blue mist of the sea.—
What is he searching for in a far-off land?
What has he abandoned in his native land?

Waves play, the wind whistles,
And the mast bends and creaks;
Alas,—he does not seek happiness
And he does not flee from happiness!—

Below him is a current of light azure,
Above him a ray of golden sunlight:—
Yet he, rebellious, begs for storms,
As if in the midst of storms lies peace!

and sentence were protested at public meetings by a young intellectual named Vladimir Bukovsky, he was arrested, tried and sentenced to three years in a labor camp. Pavel Litvinov, grandson of the former Soviet Foreign Minister Maxim Litvinov, was dismissed from his teaching job at a chemistry institute, in 1968, because he had sent abroad for publication documents about the Bukovsky trial.

The most famous of Soviet dissidents is Svetlana Alliluyeva, a daughter of Stalin, who sought asylum in the United States in 1967. She has published her memoirs in a book called *Twenty Letters to a Friend,* which is highly critical of the present Soviet regime, especially in its lack of freedom for writers.

The hopes held by many literary figures in the Soviet Union that after Stalin's death there would be real freedom to write and criticize have not come true. The long arm of the Soviet censor continues to reach out and limit freedom of expression.

E. THE FINE ARTS

Music. Russian music in the 19th century was dominated by the names of Glinka, Balakirev, Borodin, Ciu, Moussorgsky and Rimsky-Korsakov. Their many symphonies, operas and choral works, piano compositions and songs are still played and sung today. The giant of Czarist Russian music was Peter Tchaikovsky, whose operas, ballets, and symphonies are known, loved, and played all over the world.

Today, the best known composers are Sergei Prokofiev (1891-1953), famous for his "Peter and the Wolf," Aram Khatchaturian (1903-), and Dmitri Shostakovich (1906-). However, they have been criticized from time to time because of their experiments in musical forms, and have been forced to write music involving a socialist theme with realistic music and a definite plot. Pianists and violinists such as David Oistrakh, Emil Gilels, Sviatoslav Richter, Mstistan Rostropovich and Leonid Kogan have won world recognition.

Ballet. Russian ballet has an old and honorable history, going back to 1742 when the first professional ballet was presented

The Russian ballet has set standards for dance groups all over the world. Modern Russian ballet troupes have visited the U.S.

during the coronation of Elizabeth, daughter of Peter the Great. By 1917, Russian ballet was the most important in the world. Dancers and choreographers like Vaslav Nijinsky, Anna Pavlova, Tamara Karsavina and Michel Fokine were, and still are, admired the world over.

Under the Soviets, the ballet, after many reverses, has again come into world attention. Soviet dancers are well paid by the state; they own cars, live in nice apartments, have economic security, and are trained by the state at state expense. There are over 30 ballet companies in the Soviet Union, the best known of which are the Bolshoi Ballet of Moscow and the Kirov Ballet of Leningrad. These companies and the Moisiyev folk dancers have toured the United States and entertained thousands of Americans with their excellent performances. "Swan Lake" and "Sleeping Beauty" are two of the best known and most frequently performed of all the Russian ballets.

The ballet has also been a battleground for changing ideas involving Communist ideology. Demands that ballet conform to contemporary reality and be related to life have been opposed

by new young choreographers, who wish to experiment with new styles involving no plot but simply interpreting the music. Out of this conflict, Soviet ballet is slowly creating a style of its own similar to the classical, yet involving some innovations reflecting the desire for freedom of expression and creativity.

Theater and Films. These two forms of artistic expression have received much attention from Soviet directors and actors in recent years. The great Konstantin Stanislavsky (1863-1938), of pre-Revolution fame, created a form of method acting. The drama flourished in Russia before 1917, with many theaters in large cities offering plays by Chekhov, Gogol, and others.

The Revolution provided a spark that stimulated the theatrical world of the Soviet Union. However, Stalin ruthlessly suppressed any play that criticized the government or him, even indirectly, and directors like Meyerhold, Babel, Vesely and Kershon were put in jail to die there.

Today the Soviet theater is undergoing a revival. Plays banned by Stalin are being shown, as are plays from England and the United States. Performances by many of the traveling troupes of actors are sold out. However, the propaganda values of the theater are not overlooked by the Party. The Soviet actors and directors are always aware that the government may at any moment close up their theater and end further production. They can even be tried for anti-Soviet propaganda or some other trumped-up charge, unless they stay close to the "Party line" whatever it may be at any given moment.

The same might be said of Soviet films. During the Stalinist period, Soviet movies were largely for propaganda. Since his death, the movie makers have become freer and have turned out some magnificent films. G. Kozintsev won a prize for his film, "Hamlet," and is filming "King Lear." The propaganda purpose of the Soviet film is less important today than it was a generation ago; the artistic desire to portray truth is growing, taking two steps forward for every step back.

Art and Architecture. Soviet art has been limited by the demands of the Party. The modernist paintings of Vasily Kandinsky

and the works of Russian-born Marc Chagall are prohibited in the U.S.S.R. One may see fine collections of paintings of pre-Revolutionary days—works of Picasso, Matisse, Bonnard and others—in the galleries of the great Hermitage Museum in Leningrad and the Pushkin Museum in Moscow. However, there were few important Russian painters, either before or after the Revolution. The Union of Soviet Artists, created by the government, in 1932, has absolute control over art. The art ideology it has adopted is designed to flatter the state, celebrate its leaders, romanticize the common life of the people, and strengthen the myths about Russian history. These objectives are pursued by the great majority of Soviet artists, with the exception of Dmitri Krasnopevtsev and Yevgeny Mechov-Voitenko. In the work of both of these artists freer subjects, abstract ideas and more original colors are seen. But their paintings have never been placed on public exhibition, nor offered for public sale, lest the Union of Soviet Artists stop their work completely.

Soviet architecture is developing in response to government demands and needs. Mass-produced, standardized, pre-cut buildings are being constructed on a large scale, both as homes and offices. This technological improvement in low-cost housing (still in its early stages, but expanding rapidly) is the Soviet Union's chief contribution to architectural design. European and American influences in the use of steel, glass, and marble for building and decoration purposes are beginning to be seen in the construction of new public buildings such as the *Gosplan* headquarters and the Palace of Congresses in Moscow. These skyscrapers are very much like their counterparts in the Western world, but are very different from the former Russian style of buildings. The Soviets stress the functional use of architecture.

F. THE NEW WOMAN

The Communist Revolution brought about a great change in the status of Russian women. Everybody had to help after the Revolution, so the women did the hard work along with the men; they built the railroads, mixed the concrete and harvested

the wheat by hand. The new woman now rejects hard physical labor and the tent-like dresses, men's shoes and skinned-back-into-a-knot hairdos that the revolutionary women wore. The emphasis on "equality"—in jobs, salaries and education—has helped to bring the Soviet woman out of the home and into the mainstream of Soviet life.

Today there are more women than men in the Soviet Union —five women for every four men. This fact alone has made it necessary, even essential, that "woman power" be used in the tremendous task the government has had in expanding the economic life of the country. Soviet women were called upon to participate in this growth. That they have taken advantage of this opportunity can be seen in the following figures:

75% of all the doctors are women.
70% of all the teachers are women.
40% of all the lawyers are women.
30% of all the engineers are women.
45% of all the industrial workers are women.
30% of all the construction workers are women.
27% of all the members of the Supreme Soviet are women.
20% of all the members of the Communist Party are women.

All in all, women make up 47 per cent of the entire labor force in the Soviet Union. If these figures are compared with the corresponding statistics for American women, only a tiny number of the doctors, lawyers, engineers, and legislators in the United States are women. In no other country in the world do women play so important a role as in the Soviet Union.

All this means that very few Soviet women stay at home. They find jobs in one field or another. Many of them are still employed in heavy construction work, such as building subways, erecting buildings, repairing or laying down roads, operating heavy machinery in steel plants, or driving trucks. Even women with young children work. This is made possible by the maintenance of nurseries and kindergartens for pre-school children. The mother can leave her children in the morning on her way to work, and pick them up in the evening after she has com-

pleted her day's work and shopping. During the day her children are in the hands of competent and well-trained people who provide the care they need. Both mothers and fathers are very much interested in this child-care program. If the child is of school age, he remains in school under the watchful eyes of teachers, spending his after-school time in study, gymnastics, or hobbies until it is time to go home when his parents will be there.

Why do so many women work? One major reason is the need to increase the family income, because wages have been so low. Another reason is that the government teaches that it is the duty of all Soviet citizens to contribute their share to the "greater glory of the Soviet state." The stress on equality with men has given the Soviet woman a new status.

In recent years, the standards of living have been going up slowly, and wages have increased. The Soviet woman, particularly in the large cities, has begun to care more about her appearance, and to ask for more mechanical assistance in the home. She has begun to use lipstick, nail polish and other cosmetics, as her "sisters" in the Western countries have for many years. She wants more stylish clothes. She wants frozen and other easy-to-prepare foods (these have begun to show up in the government stores), so that she can spend less time cooking. Refrigerators, vacuum cleaners, and washing machines are in demand so that the housework, which becomes a chore after a full day of office or factory work, can be made easier. She also wants a larger apartment—this is one of the major complaints of Soviet city families. Apartments that are overcrowded, poorly constructed, dimly lit and inadequately furnished, rent from 5 to 10 rubles a month ($5.50 to $11). The Soviet woman wants her own kitchen, not one shared with one or more other families, as is very often the case.

Soviet women are realizing their desires because higher wages increase the availability of goods; the government promises a better, more comfortable life; and the influences of Western countries are being felt. This has been reported by Russians who have visited the West on cultural exchange programs, been seen on television programs, and heard in foreign radio broadcasts.

These changes are less significant to the women living in rural areas or on a farm cooperative. There, the woman is the "equal" of the man insofar as work and wages are concerned; but Western products, improved living conditions, and the luxuries to be bought with higher wages are not available to women far out in the country.

G. THE SOVIET FAMILY

In the early days of Soviet control, the government considered the family little more than a useless and outdated institution. Within a few weeks after he took control, Lenin signed the first law on the ending of marriages. "A marriage is to be annulled," it said, "when either both parties or one, at least, appeal for its annulment." In other words, divorce was to be had for the asking, and nobody had to show cause. A couple only had to register at a government office to make their marriage legal, and they could obtain a divorce at the same office by paying a small fee.

In 1926, another law made it even easier to secure a divorce. Until then, one of the couple had to appear in court. Under the new law one of the couple had only to apply to the registry office for a divorce and wait three days for the spouse to receive a postcard saying that the marriage had ended.

In the 1930's and 1940's the divorce laws were made much stricter. Stalin increased the fees for divorce; both parties had to appear in court and have the divorce recorded on their internal passports, which every Soviet citizen was required to carry all the time. In 1944, the fees were raised from 500 to 2,000 ($500-$2,200) rubles, thus making divorce almost economically impossible.

In 1966, divorces were once again made faster and cheaper. The fees were considerably reduced, and the judge, after getting a "yes" answer from the couple, could grant a divorce then and there. There is no alimony in the U.S.S.R. because everybody is expected to be self-supporting. The mother gets custody of

the children, but the father is expected to contribute to the support of minor children—25 per cent of his salary is automatically deducted for one child, 33 per cent for two, and 50 per cent for three or more.

Actually, the Soviet family is not very different from families in the Western world. Most Soviet parents are very interested in the progress of their children. The schools work hard to secure the cooperation of parents. Weekly meetings are held, and parents are expected to attend. When a child presents a problem to his parents, either in school work or in discipline, and efforts are not made to correct it, the union to which the father or mother belongs may make the question the subject of discussion by everybody present at one of its meetings. Parents work hard to provide their children with the best care. Like their Western counterparts, they try to get their children into the best college or university even if they have to give them extra money, for the government grants to college students are not very large.

Soviet parents, like parents the world over, are troubled about the conduct and morals of their children. Soviet teen-agers are attracted to Western clothing, music, hair styles, and slang. The *stilyagi,* as these nonconformists are called, are found in many of the large cities. Maybe they are bored with the constant repetition of Marxist slogans and the regulated diet of literature, music and art. They react by listening to American jazz records, which cannot be legally bought in the Soviet Union, and by wearing unusual hairdos and unconventional clothes. Efforts made by government agencies, such as the *Komsomols,* to reform these individuals have not been very successful. In short, the Soviet Union like many other countries, also has its teen-age problems!

H. WELFARE AND HEALTH

The social security system in the Soviet Union is one of the most extensive in the world. Health insurance, medical, dental, and hospital care, maternity benefits, disability programs, and old age pensions are provided for all Soviet citizens. Special

programs for mothers with dependent or young children, for the blind, and for the crippled, are also maintained. The worker pays nothing extra for any of these benefits other than what he pays indirectly in his taxes.

Old age pensions were first adopted in 1956. They apply to men over 60 and to women over 55 who have worked a certain number of years. The pension amounts to about 50 per cent of the individual's average monthly wage during the last year of work. This comes to about $40 to $50 a month. Workers on collective farms were brought into this program in 1964. In 1967, 15 per cent of all Soviet citizens were on pension.

The Soviet government spends a large amount of money on hospitals, clinics, and public health services. There are more doctors and more hospitals in the Soviet Union than in the United States. Their 400,000 doctors and 26,000 hospitals compare to our 275,000 doctors and 7,000 hospitals. While hospital equipment is not the most modern, and the wonder drugs of the West, such as streptomycin, are in short supply, the health of the Soviet nation as a whole has improved remarkably under Soviet rule. The government has done much to provide hygiene information, to fight epidemics, and to make available prompt and adequate medical diagnosis and care. The training given to doctors and nurses is not as extensive as that provided in the United States. But the death rate per thousand, in 1967, in the Soviet Union was 6.3 per cent compared to the American rate of 9.4 per cent. From childbirth to death, the Soviet government provides medical and dental care for its citizens, thus relieving them of the pressures of providing such services for themselves.

The declining birth rate worries Soviet officials; it has fallen from 44 per 1,000 population in 1926 to 18 per 1,000 in 1966. This decline is partly explained by the large migration of Soviet citizens from farm villages to crowded urban localities where housing is inadequate. Many couples are reluctant to have more than one child, or rarely two, under these crowded conditions. Another explanation is that most wives find it necessary and preferable to hold jobs. And there is the temptation for young

couples to save their money toward the purchase of luxuries which are becoming more available. Should this decline continue, the Soviet population, which has already dropped since 1940 from 8.6 per cent of the world's figure to 6.9 per cent, will be even less in coming years.

I. SPORTS

During its years of control, the Soviets have increased participation in sports to a point where over a quarter of the Soviet population engages in one sport or another.

Sports in the U.S.S.R. are under the supervision of the Union of Sports Societies and Organizations, which was created in 1959. Organized sports provide exercise, amusement, emotional release and also a handy network of clubs for the spread of Communist thought. Soviet athletes are required to be examples of socialist vitality to youth; thus, they are important "weapons" in the cold war.

Chess is the Russian national game. Enthusiastic players gather to play indoors or out. Here they enjoy their game in a quiet park.

Soviet sport is a serious business. Mass calisthenics are encouraged. Children are urged to participate in one sport or another; they are trained by coaches who look for the most promising for special training, whether it be soccer or gymnastics, wrestling or running, high jumping or parachute jumping. There is athletic competition between rival factories or collective farms, between cities, and between regions. The Soviet people turn out in large numbers to support their favorite athletes and teams.

Star athletes receive financial support and material rewards as long as they remain in their sports. There are no professional athletes in the Soviet Union, but the amateur champion can remain in school or at an easy job that will not interfere with his training as long as he wants to.

The Olympic games have become an international propaganda event for the Soviets. Their spectacular achievements in track and field events, in gymnastics, in weight lifting, and even in basketball, have made them the outstanding Olympic challengers and even victors in many events. To the Soviets, their athletic victories have become more proof of the superiority of communism over capitalism.

QUESTIONS AND ACTIVITIES

MULTIPLE CHOICE TEST

In each of the following, you have three choices. Choose the only correct answer.

1. Children in the Soviet Union must go to school for at least *(a)* 8 years, *(b)* 10 years, *(c)* 12 years.
2. Literacy in the Soviet Union today compared with literacy in Russia under the Czars is *(a)* less, *(b)* as much, *(c)* more.
3. Compared to your school year, the present Soviet school year is *(a)* shorter, *(b)* longer, *(c)* about the same length.
4. The average Soviet student in school concentrates on studying *(a)* a vocation, *(b)* shop work, *(c)* mathematics and science.
5. Soviet students go to school *(a)* four, *(b)* five, *(c)* six days a week.

6. Pupils in Soviet schools *(a)* are automatically promoted every year, *(b)* must repeat a subject if they fail it, *(c)* are required to go to school in the evening.
7. Education in the Soviet Union is *(a)* free, from kindergarten through college, *(b)* limited only to children of Communist Party members, *(c)* controlled by each village or town.
8. All teachers in the Soviet Union *(a)* receive the same salary, *(b)* are paid according to the type of school in which they teach, *(c)* are prohibited from taking extra jobs.
9. Russian history is taught in the Soviet schools *(a)* as a method of developing freedom of thought and expression, *(b)* to encourage research in comparative governments, *(c)* to create "good little Communists."
10. The Russian scientist who classified the chemical elements was *(a)* Mendeleyev, *(b)* Landau, *(c)* Tupelov.
11. An *akademgorod* is a *(a)* Hindu teacher in Moscow, *(b)* Soviet instructor in foreign languages, *(c)* "scientific city" engaged in research.
12. Soviet scientists *(a)* have gained little world recognition for their work, *(b)* have made much progress in science, *(c)* are ignored and ill-paid by the government.
13. The first man to fly in space was *(a)* Yuri Gagarin, *(b)* John Glenn, *(c)* Leonov.
14. The first country to land a man on the moon was *(a)* the Soviet Union, *(b)* the United States, *(c)* neither of these.
15. The famous novel, *War and Peace,* was written by *(a)* Leo Tolstoy, *(b)* Ivan Turgenev, *(c)* Maxim Gorky.
16. The first Soviet writer to win a Nobel Prize for literature was *(a)* Michael Sholokhov, *(b)* Boris Pasternak, *(c)* Alexander Pushkin.
17. Soviet writers today *(a)* are expected to follow the "Party line," *(b)* are free to write in any way or on any subject they choose, *(c)* work for the Soviet government.
18. Stalin's daughter *(a)* Anna Pavlova, *(b)* Svetlana Alliluyeva, *(c)* Marina Tsvetayeva is a refugee in the United States today.
19. One of the best known Soviet exports today is *(a)* industrial equipment, *(b)* ballet, *(c)* literary works.
20. Soviet women make up a majority in the *(a)* Communist Party, *(b)* Supreme Soviet, *(c)* the medical profession.
21. The number of Soviet female workers is *(a)* more than, *(b)* as many as, *(c)* fewer than American women workers.
22. Most Soviet women work because *(a)* they are required to by government law, *(b)* they need the money, *(c)* it gives them a greater feeling of freedom.

23. A Soviet *stilyagi* is comparable to an American *(a)* beatnik, *(b)* sports fan, *(c)* television writer.
24. Soviet citizens receive free *(a)* housing, *(b)* medical care, *(c)* unemployment insurance.
25. The death rate in the Soviet Union is *(a)* as high as, *(b)* lower than, *(c)* greater than the death rate in the United States.

KEY WORDS AND PHRASES

Can you explain the meaning of the following words and phrases?

literacy
incomplete secondary school
technikum
"day book"
akademgorod
indoctrination
Stanislavsky method
Lysenko
sputnik
"race to the moon"
Dr. Zhivago
dissident
Moisiyev folk dancing
stilyagi

A MATCHING GAME

Match the description in Column II to the names in Column I.

Column I	Column II
..... 1. Elie Metchnikov	*a.* Soviet plane designer
..... 2. Valentina Tereshkova	*b.* Famous playwright
..... 3. Feodor Dostoevsky	*c.* Winner of Nobel Prize for Literature
..... 4. Ivan Pavlov	*d.* Famous Russian composer
..... 5. Peter Tchaikovsky	*e.* Best known Soviet dissident
..... 6. Marc Chagall	*f.* Discoverer of blood composition
..... 7. Anton Chekov	*g.* Soviet athlete
..... 8. A. N. Tupelov	*h.* Author of *Crime and Punishment*
..... 9. Boris Pasternak	*i.* Russian-born painter
.....10. Svetlana Alliluyeva	*j.* Conditioned reflexes
	k. First woman astronaut

TRUE OR FALSE

Do you agree with the following statements? Give reasons for your answers.

1. There is a high rate of illiteracy in the Soviet Union today.
2. Soviet students have an easier program of studies than American students do.
3. The aim of Soviet schools is to develop loyalty to the Communist way of life.
4. Woman are hired equally with men for most jobs.
5. Soviet science has made few advances.
6. Soviet ballet is well-known in the United States.
7. Soviet writers and artists are free to express their opinions and ideas in their works.
8. Soviet family life is very different from American family life.
9. The Soviets have no teen-age problems.
10. Soviet space accomplishments have been great.

THINGS TO DO

1. Divide the class into committees, each of which should prepare a report on one of the following topics relating to Soviet education: *(a)* "The Study of Science and Mathematics," *(b)* Freedom of Expression and Research," *(c)* "The Organization and Control of Soviet Education," *(d)* "The Incomplete Secondary School." Use the card catalogue in the library to find books on Soviet education.
2. Have students compare their schooling with that of Soviet students in *(a)* courses taken in a year, *(b)* length of school day, week, year, *(c)* examinations and class work, *(d)* written and oral work.
3. Prepare debates on the following topics: *(a) Resolved*—The study of foreign languages should begin early in the American school system. *(b) Resolved*—The Soviet school system is superior to the American school system in building patriotism and nationalism.
4. Prepare a classroom exhibit on the Soviet and American space programs, including newspaper and magazine articles, pictures, diagrams, charts and models of missiles and spacecraft.
5. The class should invite a teacher from the Music Department to talk about Soviet music and dance, playing records to illustrate the talk.

6. A Science Department member should be invited to talk to the class about genetics, especially the ideas of Lysenko.
7. Some of the class members should read *Dr. Zhivago* by Boris Pasternak, or "Selected Poems" by Yevtushenko, and report back to the class on passages or lines reflecting criticism of the Soviet regime.
8. A series of charts should be prepared, comparing the number of Soviet women with American women in selected fields of work, such as medicine, teaching, construction, factory and farm work.
9. Student reports on the Soviet social insurance program should be prepared for class discussion.
10. Hold an imaginary interview with Svetlana Alliluyeva, with prepared questions and answers as to why she left the Soviet Union, her attitude toward her father and his accomplishments and methods, and her feelings toward the Soviet Union today.

Chaper 7

SOVIET FOREIGN RELATIONS

A. OSTRACISM OF THE 1920'S

One of the first official steps Lenin took after his party had established control over the Russian government in November, 1917, was to make peace with Germany in spite of efforts by the Allies and some Russians to prevent Russia from withdrawing from World War I. (The very severe Brest-Litovsk treaty that Germany forced upon Russia was discussed in Chapter 2.)

Then Lenin's party called upon the Socialist parties in the European countries to join with his people in launching a world-wide Communist revolution.

Lenin had hoped that the Bolshevik revolution would be followed by similar revolutions in the countries of Western Europe. In Germany and Italy, where it appeared most likely that this might happen, the local Communists were unable to rally the people behind them. The only temporary success came in 1919 in Hungary, under the leadership of Bela Kun. Within a few months, however, the Hungarian Soviet Republic collapsed. By 1920, the prospects of revolution in most of western and central Europe had dimmed.

In March, 1919, the Third or Communist International, known as the Comintern, met in Moscow. This was a meeting of the European Communist parties. However, like the First and Second Internationals, which had been associations of socialist parties, the Third International was unsuccessful in promoting revolution.

The Western nations feared the Soviet Union's policy of international revolution and would have nothing to do with the Soviet government. The Bolsheviks refused to pay the hundreds of millions of dollars of foreign debts that the czarist government had accumulated. This gave Britain, France, Italy and other

countries another reason for not recognizing the Bolshevik government. Faced with this European dioplomatic blocade and weakened by the years of civil war and counter-revolution within its own borders, the Soviet Union adopted a new policy of friendly relations. In 1922, the Soviet Union signed the Treaty of Rapallo with Germany, which established diplomatic relations and improved economic relations between the two countries. Within two years, most of the major Western nations had extended diplomatic recognition to the Soviet Union. The one major exception was the United States. The American government did not recognize the government of the U.S.S.R. until 1934.

The Soviet Union was bordered on the west by countries that had little love for their huge neighbor. Finland, the Baltic countries—Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia—Poland, and Rumania (which had seized Bessarabia from Russia in the early days of the Bolshevik Revolution) were hostile to the Soviet Union. They (except for Rumania) had been created out of former Russian-held lands and did not want to be subject again to Russian rule.

The Comintern remained active during these years, planning and supporting revolutionary movements wherever opportunities —political or economic—were presented, whether in Germany, Bulgaria or even China. However, these efforts were not successful. Britain withdrew diplomatic representatives from the Soviet Union in 1927 because of Comintern meddling in its internal affairs. When Stalin became undisputed boss of the government he realized that the Soviet economy of the ten previous years was too weak to support any large scale revolutionary activities. He began to downgrade the Comintern and subordinate international revolutionary agitation to fostering the diplomatic interests of the Soviet government. His new goal of foreign policy was to win for the U.S.S.R. the reputation of being peace-loving and reasonable. The Soviet Union turned its major attention to domestic affairs, as the country became more and more absorbed in the tremendous social and economic changes demanded by Stalin.

B. GROWING INTERNATIONALISM OF THE 1930'S

The Soviets became increasingly alarmed at the strength of the Nazis in Germany in the early 1930's. When Hitler became Chancellor of Germany, in 1933, Stalin resolved to protect his country's western borders from Nazi attack. He signed military alliances with France and Germany, in 1935, and signed neutrality pacts with many of his western and southern neighbors.

In 1934, the Soviets joined the League of Nations in spite of their many statements that the League was an organization of capitalist states that conspired against them. The Union then attempted to strengthen a program of collective security against possible German attack. Japan's invasion and seizure of Manchuria on Russia's eastern border, in 1931-1932, was another factor that influenced this Soviet policy.

The success of Nazi and other fascist movements led the Soviet Union to take further steps to strengthen Western countries, and itself, against the threats of invasion. "Popular front" movements were sponsored. Communist parties in Western countries, like France, were ordered by the Comintern to join with Socialists to form or support a government to save the country from internal or external attack by fascist groups. During the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) Soviet military aid was sent to help Spain against the forces of Franco, which were supported by Germany and Italy.

Fearful of Nazi power in Europe—the rearming of Germany, the occupation and remilitarization of the Ruhr, the building up of a huge air force and navy, the seizure of Austria and the taking over of Czechoslovakia—the Soviets, in 1939, sought stronger military alliances with France and England. However, these countries did not respond very cordially to the Soviet invitation, so the Soviets, interested primarily in their own self-defense, made the most surprising diplomatic bargain of the century. Hitler and Stalin signed a non-aggression treaty on August 23, 1939. Each country pledged not to attack the other. A secret provision divided eastern Europe into German and Soviet spheres of influence. The Soviet Union was to dominate

Finland, the Baltic states, and eastern Poland, and regain Bessarabia, lost to Rumania in 1918. Thus, Stalin would be assured of Russia's security against Germany.

This amazing treaty between bitter enemies caught the world, even the Communist parties in non-Soviet countries, by surprise. Overnight the slogan of the Communists in France, in America, and other nations changed from "Fight Hitler!" to "Neutrality for Everybody!" Stalin was "buying time" from Germany in order to build up his western defenses against any possible German attack. Hitler, feeling sure that he would not be faced with a two-front war on Germany's eastern and western borders, prepared to invade Poland. With this act, World War II began in September, 1939.

C. THE SOVIET UNION IN WORLD WAR II—1939-1945

Soviet Expansion. The German armies overran Poland within a few weeks. The Soviet Union occupied the eastern half of that country, thereby acquiring some 75,000 square miles of territory.

As soon as the war began, the Soviets forced the governments of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, on their western frontier, to sign treaties giving the U.S.S.R. military bases in their countries. Within a year, all three countries had been absorbed as separate republics into the Soviet Union, thus adding 67,000 square miles more of territory.

When Leningrad in the north was threatened, the Soviets demanded the right to establish military bases in Finland. Tiny Finland refused, and the Soviets declared war. Finland fought bravely, appealed to the League of Nations for support, but was no match for its giant neighbor. Although the U.S.S.R. was expelled from the League of Nations, the Soviets did not stop their war. In March, 1940, they forced the Finns to sign a treaty, ceding 16,000 square miles of territory which included strategic places in the Karelian Isthmus near Leningrad.

Before 1940 was over, after the Soviets threatened war, Bessarabia, part of Rumania, became the Moldavian S.S.R. This

added another 13,000 square miles to Soviet territory. Thus, before the Soviet Union had become involved in war, its size had increased by 170,000 square miles.

German Invasion of Soviet Union. In June, 1941, Hitler's armies attacked the Soviet Union on a broad, three-pronged front. One army moved northward against Leningrad, a second pushed straight across the Eurasian plain, with Moscow as its goal, and a third aimed its tanks and troops at the Ukraine and the oil fields of the Caucasus.

In the first months of the war, the Germans pushed back the Soviets deep into Soviet territory. Leningrad was besieged, but held out in a gallant defense for almost a year before the blockade was lifted. The Germans advanced to the outskirts of Moscow before they were halted. In the southwest, the Nazi armies reached Stalingrad, deep in the Caucasus. The Germans had overrun much of the U.S.S.R. and held millions of people under their control.

The Soviets began a counter-offensive in the winter of 1942-1943. They defeated the German armies before Stalingrad and pushed the Nazis back in a slow retreat that continued for two years. Hitler was unable to put the Soviet Union out of the war with the same ease and rapidity with which he had disposed of the Low Countries, Poland, and France. The deeper the Germans moved into Soviet territory, the longer, thinner, and more open to attack by Soviet guerrillas the German supply lines became. The Soviets deliberately destroyed everything that could be of value to the Germans. This "scorched earth" policy forced the Germans to depend on their own resources instead of living off the land. Of great help to the Soviets was the tremendous amount of aid given by the West.

Aid to the Soviets. The British, although hard-pressed by German air attacks during the summer and fall of 1941, began to ship war material to the Soviets. In 1941, after the United States became an ally as a result of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Lend-Lease aid was extended to Russia.

The United States sent the U.S.S.R. about $11 billion of aid

—medicines, food, airplanes, ice breakers, guns, tanks, troop carriers and cruisers. The Soviets would probably have been unable to begin their counter-offensive against the Germans without this aid.

Soviet-Allied Cooperation. The Soviet Union and its Western allies coordinated their military plans against the Axis powers (Germany, Italy, and Japan) and met to discuss common objectives in the war. The first meeting of the heads of government of the Allied powers was held in Teheran, Iran, in 1943. Winston Churchill of Great Britain, Franklin D. Roosevelt of the United States, and Joseph Stalin of the Soviet Union agreed to open a second front against the Nazis in western Europe to divert some of the German forces from the U.S.S.R. In return, Stalin promised to declare war on Japan after Germany had been defeated. Churchill favored an Allied invasion of the Balkans to support the Russian offensive, hoping to block Russian influence in that area. He was outvoted by Stalin and Roosevelt, and the second front opened on the Normandy peninsula of France on June 6, 1944. Within two weeks, the Soviets began their offensive against the Germans in the east, and pushed them completely back into the Polish and Balkan territories they had controlled. This gigantic two-front movement was successful; the German armies were hurled back until the two arms of the pincers met in mid-Germany in April, 1945.

Two months earlier, the Allied leaders had met at Yalta, a Soviet resort in the Crimean peninsula. The Soviet Union agreed to declare war on Japan after Germany surrendered. In return, it would receive the territories and rights in China that had been surrendered by czarist Russia in 1905. These territories included the southern half of the island of Sakhalin, the port of Dairen, a naval base at Port Arthur, plus the Kurile Islands, north of Japan. The Allies decided that after Germany was defeated, it would be divided into four zones, each to be occupied by one of the Allied powers, including France. Berlin, deep in the Soviet zone, was also to be occupied jointly by the four powers. Stalin demanded a large part of Poland, inhabited by Ukrainians and Byelorussians, suggesting that the Poles com-

pensate themselves by annexing east Germany as far as the Oder and Niesse Rivers, land already occupied by Soviet troops. The liberated east-central European countries were to be allowed free elections and democratic governments (a promise that was kept by Stalin, but his interpretation of a "free election" differs from ours).

A third meeting of Allied leaders was held at Potsdam in Germany, in July, 1945. Clement Attlee represented Britain; Harry Truman represented the United States (Franklin Roosevelt had died earlier that year); and Stalin represented the Soviet Union. These leaders reaffirmed the decisions made earlier regarding the division and occupation of defeated Germany. Within days after this conference, two atomic bombs were dropped on Japan; the Soviet Union entered the war against Japan, and in September, 1945, the war ended in the Pacific.

Soviet Losses and Gains. The Soviet Union suffered tremendous losses during the war. Millions of Russians died; other millions were injured. Destruction by the retreating Germans and by the Soviet "scorched earth" policy had turned the western part of the Soviet Union into a wasteland. Homes had been destroyed, factories pillaged, farms burned, dams and reservoirs had been blown up. The ability of the Soviet Union to produce goods and feed its people had been weakened.

Four years in the war had added to the Soviet Union some 170,000 miles of territory and had put millions of people under its control. The most dangerous threat to its security had been destroyed. It occupied a large section of the Balkan peninsula, from which it could not be easily persuaded to leave. Soviet Russia had rallied its people behind it in this "patriotic war," as the Soviet historians called it.

Germany and Japan had been defeated, France had been weakened by her long period under German control, Great Britain had been badly battered and her resources had been severely drained. In spite of its serious losses of manpower and economic power, the Soviet Union emerged from World War II as one of the two great powers in the world. The other was the United States.

D. SOVIET SATELLITE STATES IN CENTRAL EUROPE

One of the most striking features of Russia's history has been its expansion—for different reasons at different times. Among the reasons were the desire for the unification of all lands inhabited by Russians, the search for warm water ports and outlets to the seas, the need for national security, and economic advantages. The Soviet Union has had considerable success in acquiring territory.

Russia has expanded in three directions: westward into Europe, southward into the lands adjoining the eastern Mediterranean, and eastward toward the Pacific. Russia has long tried to exert influence on its neighbors to protect itself against possible invasion. The U.S.S.R. recovered the territories lost in 1918—Finland, the Baltic countries, Bessarabia, and eastern Poland—and established a broad sphere of influence in Eastern Europe. Its borders were stretched out to include, for the first time in its history, all Russian-inhabited lands. Its strong position in the Far East, which had been achieved under the czars and then lost in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905, was regained. The one failure was the effort to obtain control of Constantinople (now Istanbul)—an historical objective in the eastern Mediterranean.

Creation of Satellite States. The Eastern European countries of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, East Germany and Albania, covering 560,000 square miles of land and including about 100 million people, had been conquered by the Germans during the early years of World War II. The Soviet counter-offensive of 1944-1945 drove the Germans out; most of these countries were then occupied by the Soviets. It was difficult to get the Soviet troops out, as the Western nations discovered in the years after the war.

Although the Soviet Union had joined with Great Britain and the United States in pledging at Yalta, in 1945, that it would restore "sovereign rights and self-determination to these peoples who had been forcibly deprived of them by aggressor states," the Soviets had no intention of keeping this promise. As Stalin

Soviet Satellites in Europe.

is reported to have said, "any freely elected government would be anti-Soviet, and that we cannot permit." British fears that the U.S.S.R. would not remove its troops and would not stop anti-democratic activities came true. The Soviet Union went ahead with a carefully prepared program to make over the countries in eastern Europe into Communist states.

These countries were physically and spiritually exhausted by the war. They had been the battleground for German and Soviet armies, and had been occupied by both. Except for Czechoslovakia, the conditions in all of them were similar. None had a strong democratic tradition. Each was basically agricultural, with an ignorant and backward peasantry. There was little industry and practically no strong middle class. Each country had been dominated by a small group of conservative landholders who gave little to and cared less for the mass of people. Czechoslovakia was the one exception; there democracy had flourished, industry had grown, and many important reforms for workers

and peasants had been adopted in the period between the two World Wars. Yet it, too, was greatly weakened; it had been taken over by the Germans even before the war had broken out.

After the war, the Soviets quietly began to undermine the governments in these countries. The Soviet troops, stationed in all of them and in the eastern section of Germany (the Soviet occupation zone), were a constant reminder to the people of eastern Europe of the might of the Soviet Union. Native Communist leaders came out of hiding, and under Soviet protection, created a Communist party in each country. These Communists cooperated with the leaders of non-Communist parties to form a "popular" or "national" front, in which they were given a few cabinet positions. They always managed to head the ministry of the interior which had charge of the police forces.

Elections were held, but they were "rigged" to give the Communist parties complete control of the government. The non-Communist parties were gradually eliminated; their leaders were often arrested on trumped-up charges of treason and then executed or driven into exile. The police broke up anti-Communist meetings; polling places were supervised by Communists; the Soviet soldiers stood on guard with machine guns ready to shoot—a symbol that struck fear in the hearts of many voters.

It is not surprising that during the years 1947-1948 each of the eastern European countries "elected" a Communist government, which it called a "people's republic." The totalitarian regimes took over all industries and the land, broke up the large estates, and persecuted opponents, including the Church. Non-Communist newspapers were shut down. All parties except the Communist party were outlawed, and a secret police force was created. The Soviet occupation army was ready to take action against any attempt to rebel by anti-Communist groups. Freedom of speech, press, and political activity were denied. The leaders of these satellite states were Communist-trained and Communist-inspired; they followed policies and carried out orders issued by the Soviet leaders in Moscow.

By the end of 1948, Communist governments had been set up in the following countries:

Country	Area (sq. mi.)	Population
Albania	11,100	1,914,000
Bulgaria	42,729	8,258,000
Czechoslovakia	49,370	14,240,000
East Germany	41,659	17,667,000
Hungary	35,998	10,179,000
Poland	120,664	31,698,000
Rumania	91,699	19,150,000
Yugoslavia	98,766	19,756,000

The Soviet Union controlled these countries in several ways. One way was through the Communist Information Bureau (Cominform), founded in 1947. The meetings of this bureau were attended by leaders of the Communist parties of the satellite countries and also the Communist party leaders of France and Italy (the largest of the Western Communist parties), where they received direct instructions from the Soviet leaders.

The Soviets made the satellites dependent upon them economically by looting much of their factory machinery and taking their food products as part payment, they said, for the damage caused by the Germans to the U.S.S.R. in the war. The satellites were then forced to raise the products and manufacture the goods that were most needed by the Soviet Union.

Militarily, the satellites adopted Soviet-type weapons, introduced Soviet-type training, and coordinated their armed forces with the Soviet forces. The Soviet Union had military and air bases in each of the satellite countries so that it could control strategic places.

Through political, economic, and military pressures, strong Soviet defenses have been created in the heart of Europe.

Yugoslavia—Communist Rebel. Yugoslavia had also been occupied by the Germans during the war. A small Communist force, led by Tito (his real name was Josip Broz) fought a successful guerrilla campaign against the Germans. They freed their country through their own efforts, aided by supplies and weapons from the West; the Soviets contributed nothing. At the end of

the war, the Yugoslav Communists felt they owed little to Stalin. When the U.S.S.R. attempted to bring Yugoslavia within its sphere of influence, Tito refused to accept Stalin's orders. This show of independence on the part of a Communist state led the Cominform to denounce "Titoism" as a deviation from Communist policy that would not be tolerated. Yugoslavia was "read out" of the world Communist organization.

Tito turned to the Western powers for the economic and military aid he needed to maintain his independence from the Kremlin. Stalin believed he was so strong that, as he stated, "I will shake my little finger, and there will be no more Tito. He will fall." To his surprise, Tito did not fall. Aided by much help from the West, particularly the United States, which contributed hundreds of millions of dollars worth of food and military equipment, Yugoslavia remained independent of Soviet domination. After Stalin's death, Soviet leaders tried to re-establish more friendly relations with Tito, and gained promises of closer economic cooperation, but the Yugoslav dictator's visit to the United States in 1963 was evidence that he firmly intended to maintain his country's independence in international affairs.

In Communist Yugoslavia, workers share in the profits and control of the factories where they work. Peasants are not forced to belong to collectives but have a large degree of freedom in their work; more cultural and individual freedom is permitted. Its economy has been modernized; its tourist trade has increased (Yugoslav hotels and restaurants now honor American credit cards); but public opposition to Tito is not permitted. Officials have been jailed for plotting against the Tito government. "Titoism" has stood up against the might of the Soviet Union and has challenged successfully the monolithic structure of international communism.

Other Attempted Breaks. When Stalin died, the tight controls that he had maintained during his years of power were relaxed, and the revolts that broke out alarmed the Soviet leaders. A brief strike by workers in East German factories in June, 1953 was quickly ended by Soviet soldiers.

Three years later, workers in Poznan, Poland, went on strike. This strike, too, was suppressed, but the Polish Communists selected Wladislaw Gomulka as their leader—their own choice instead of the Soviet choice. The Soviets accepted Gomulka, whom they feared as another Tito, when he announced his loyalty to the Kremlin.

In recent years, Poland has permitted more cultural freedom than is allowed in the Soviet Union. Western publications are available; trade with the West has been encouraged, and the United States has extended aid to Poland. The Polish government has adopted a more liberal attitude toward the Catholic Church; Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski was freed from prison, and religious education is permitted in the schools. It is estimated that 95 per cent of the Polish people attend church services regularly.

The Hungarians revolted against the Communist regime in 1956; Soviet tanks and troops brutally suppressed the outbreak. Janos Kadar became the Soviet-sponsored premier. Thousands of Hungarians were killed, many others were jailed or deported, and over 175,000 people fled the country. Since then, Hungary has been tightly controlled by Soviet-dominated leaders.

Albania, one of Stalin's most obedient satellites, has, in recent years, swung away from Communist Russia's orbit and has sided with China in the ideological fight for world Communist leadership. Albania, which has no common frontier with the Soviet Union, feels safe from direct military pressure from the U.S.S.R. and has shown more and more independence, in word and action, thus making another break in the oneness of Communist control in Eastern Europe.

In Czechoslovakia, on January 5, 1968, reform-minded Alexander Dubcek replaced Anton Novotny as Communist Party chief. The new regime promised reforms that included free speech, a free press, freedom of political debate and free competition among political parties. The new government proposed changes that were so liberal that the Soviets feared that such reforms might spread to other satellite countries. The democratization process within the Communist world, if permitted to go

unchecked, would break up a Communist world that was already badly split.

In July the Russians signed an agreement that stated that the Czechoslovak government had a right to seek reforms without interference. This was, in effect, a Russian surrender and a blow to its prestige.

On August 20, however, Soviet, Bulgarian, East German, Hungarian and Polish troops invaded and occupied Czechoslovakia. The people showed their defiance by passive resistance although many were killed. Alexander Dubcek was arrested and flown to Moscow. Later, Czech President Svoboda flew to Moscow where the Russians demanded that the Czechs give up some of their reforms in return for a withdrawal of Warsaw Pact troops. The agreement permits the liberal Communist Party leaders to remain in power, but with a strict control over press and radio. Czechoslovakia had made some gains, but the Soviet Union made it clear that it had the last word.

The Soviets warned "that nobody will ever be allowed to wrest a single link from the community of socialized states." Thus, Russia's true intention was revealed to the world—it would not permit liberal reforms to take place or to permit the split in the Communist world to grow wider. Thus the Soviet Union again asserted its right to invade any socialist country and to impose its will by force of arms upon the people and government of that land.

The decline of Soviet influence in Eastern Europe is due to several factors. One is the reassertion of national interests by governments that seek greater popular support at home, as is seen in Czechoslovakia and Poland. Another is the relaxation of Soviet control following Stalin's death, which has resulted in similar liberalization in other Communist countries. In its quarrel with China, Soviet Russia has sought support from the Eastern European countries, and has given them greater freedom of action. While promoting its policy of peaceful co-existence, the Soviet Union has prompted its satellites to increase their own contacts with the West, which has resulted in trade that has doubled within the last ten years to over $12 billion.

E. THE SOVIET UNION AND COMMUNIST CHINA

Establishment of Communist Rule in China. For many years before World War II, there had been civil war in China between the Nationalists under Chiang Kai-shek, and the Communists, led by Mao Tse-tung. The Communists had gradually established a stronghold in northeast China with the help of Soviet advice, money, and military supplies. When the Japanese invaded China, in 1937, this civil war ended temporarily, and the two Chinese factions combined forces to fight Japan.

During World War II, the United States sent soldiers, money and military supplies to the Nationalists. This ultimately helped in defeating the Japanese. The Soviet Union joined in the war in the Pacific after Germany had been defeated, and was able to claim part credit for Japan's defeat and to acquire some Japanese territory. The U.S.S.R. also took out of Manchuria considerable amounts of industrial and military equipment for its own use.

The civil war between Nationalist and Communist Chinese resumed as soon as the war ended. From 1945 to 1949, the United States continued to aid Chiang's forces, and the Soviet Union supported Mao. Ultimate victory went to the Communist Chinese. The Nationalists were forced to withdraw to the island of Formosa (Taiwan), leaving the mainland of China under the control of the Communists.

Early Cooperation Between the Soviet Union and China. The Soviet Union helped the newly established Chinese government during the 1950's by pouring scientists, engineers, technicians, money, machines, and advice into China. Mao introduced centralized economic planning modeled after the Soviet Five-Year Plans. Agriculture was collectivized, industry was stimulated, and Mao controlled education, the army, the press, and the social life of the Chinese population.

Differences began to develop between the two Communist giants even in those first years. Mao felt that he was receiving too little help and resented the Soviets' unwillingness to share

their atomic bomb secrets. He felt that his country, with a population of 750 million (more than three times that of the Soviet Union), should be treated as an equal, not as a very junior partner.

Gradual Rift Between the Two Countries. The first major sign of a split showed up after the famous 20th Communist Party Congress in 1956. Khrushchev severely criticized Stalin for his oppressive and tyrannical rule. Mao resented this because he himself was using many of Stalin's techniques; he felt that this criticism was an attack on him also. Khrushchev also denounced Stalin for his "cult of personality" which was exactly what Mao was encouraging for himself. An important ideological difference in the Communist principles of these two countries began to develop. Khrushchev favored "peaceful coexistence" with the Western world, while attempting to bring about the downfall of capitalism without risking nuclear war. Mao emphasized revolution or war as the way to destroy capitalism. Khrushchev's "deviation" from accepted Communist ideology led Mao to assert that his interpretation of Marxism was more correct than Khrushchev's.

Against Khrushchev's advice, Mao embarked upon his "Great Leap Forward" in 1958, creating thousands of agricultural communes and pushing industrial development in an effort to make China into a great economic power. Continuing ideological differences became apparent as Soviet and Chinese leaders openly traded insults. By the early 1960's, all Soviet engineers, scientists and technicians had left China, and the flow of money and machines had dried up.

China's aggressive foreign policy toward its neighbors has conflicted with Soviet foreign policy. When China attacked India, in 1962, the Soviet Union sent military help to India. China added Tibet to its already large territory, and demanded readjustment of its northern borders with Russia. The Chinese charge that about 500,000 square miles of territory (the Maritime Provinces including the port of Vladivostok, and parts of Kazakhstan and Siberia) were taken away from them by the Russian czars, and they want them back. The Chinese consider the Outer

Mongolian Republic, which lies between Siberia and China, a potential threat to them because it is allied with the Soviet Union.

Open competition between the two countries for the support of other Communist parties, especially the underdeveloped countries, has become keener. The Soviet Union has increased its financial and technical aid and its propaganda activities in Afghanistan, India, Egypt and Cuba. Notice where these countries are—in Asia, in Africa, and in the Western Hemisphere. The Chinese Communists tried to extend their influence in the same areas. Their aid in the war with the United States has been of major help to North Vietnam. The Soviet Union also supplies military help, but the geographic location of North Vietnam pulls it more easily into the Chinese orbit. North Korea does not forget the direct assistance it received from the Chinese during its struggle with South Korea in the early 1950's. Chinese leaders have tried to expand their influence among the new independent African states. In Africa and Asia, the Chinese stress their non-white skin color and play up the racial aspects of the revolutionary struggle.

Ideological Differences. The struggle between the Chinese and the Soviets involves leadership and control of the Communist world. The following are policies that the Chinese feel make the Soviets unworthy of the leadership of world communism.

1. The Chinese Communists charge that the revolutionary ardor of the Soviets has cooled considerably because of their improved material conditions, and that they are more interested in internal well-being than in furthering world revolution. To the Chinese, this is a denial of the basic assumption that revolution is an essential ingredient of communism.

2. The Chinese assert that the Soviet policy of peaceful coexistence with the West is contrary to another Communist principle—that war between capitalism and communism is inevitable, that it must go on all the time, and will end in the ultimate victory of communism.

3. The Chinese charge that the Soviets only weakly spread Communist ideas of revolution among the underdeveloped nations in the world.

4. The Chinese point to what they call the timidity of the Soviet Union in its foreign policies and its conservative military policy of self-protection. The Chinese believe that these policies should be directed at spreading revolutions and uprisings throughout the world.

5. The Chinese exploded their first atomic bomb in 1964 and their first hydrogen bomb in 1967. When they became the second Communist atomic power, they reasserted their claims for leadership of the Communist world. The Soviet agreement with the United States and Britain to the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (1963), which bans all nuclear testing in the atmosphere, underwater, and in outer space, is another example to the Chinese of how the Soviets are ignoring Communist doctrines.

6. The introduction of the profit motive in the economy of the Soviet Union is another indication to the Chinese of Soviet defection from basic Marxist principles.

The struggle between Communist China and the Soviet Union may have important effects upon the rest of the world. Will the Chinese, in their efforts to gain this leadership, provoke a war, possibly an atomic war, as evidence of their determination to establish world communism? Will the Soviets, to continue their support to and from the satellite states, relax their control and permit them more freedom? Will the West, in the interest of world peace, continue to increase efforts to co-exist with the Soviet Union?

As an American student, what would your answer to these questions be?

F. SOVIET FOREIGN POLICIES IN OTHER AREAS

Germany. After the war, Germany, as agreed upon at international war conferences, was divided into four occupation zones: French, British, American, and Soviet. The city of Berlin, well within the Soviet zone, was also divided and occupied by the four powers.

Efforts to reach agreement on a peace treaty between Germany and its wartime enemies have so far failed. The Soviets' uncompromising position on German boundaries and their insistence on huge reparations from Germany (the sum of $10 billion has been mentioned frequently) have not been agreeable to the West. Soviet refusal to permit free elections in all German zones has been a major stumbling block in the attempted reunification of East and West Germany.

In 1948, the U.S.S.R. attempted to drive the Western powers out of their Berlin zones by cutting off all railroad, highway, and barge access to the city. The West sent in food, fuel, and other necessities in a gigantic procession of airplanes. This "Berlin Airlift" was so successful that after a year the Soviets gave up the blockade.

In 1949, the United States, Britain, and France united their zones of West Germany to create the democratic Federal Republic of Germany, with its capital at Bonn; they ended their own political control over West Germany in 1955, although they still kept troops there as part of the NATO forces. In East Germany, the Soviets set up the German Democratic Republic as a Communist state. Between the two German states, as everywhere around the borders of the Soviet satellites, there is an "iron curtain," so named by Winston Churchill, carefully controlled by the Soviets.

Although travel was severely restricted, an estimated three million Germans fled from east to west in the 1950's. To stop this flight, the Soviets built a wall in 1961 between the two sectors of Berlin. Thousands were killed as they tried to break through. The Berlin Wall stands as a symbol of the division of Germany into two parts; in the western part the people are free; in the eastern part, some 18 million Germans are under the control of the Soviet Union.

The reunification of Germany is a matter of Soviet foreign policy. The Soviets feel that a strong, united Germany of 70 million people poses a threat to their security. The German offensives against them in World Wars I and II have not been forgotten. Only under their own terms will the Soviets allow reunification to take place.

The United Nations. The Soviet Union was a charter member of the United Nations; it cooperated with the Western allies during the war to lay the foundations for the creation of the world organization, and joined in 1945. Thus, it was a member of the United Nations from the beginning, unlike the League of Nations, which it did not join until 16 years after it had been created. The Soviet Union insisted upon separate membership in the United Nations for two of its republics—Byelorussia and the Ukraine—thereby giving, in effect, three votes to the Soviet Union in the General Assembly.

As one of the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council, the Soviet Union—with the United States, Britain, France and Nationalist China—has the right to veto Council action on specific steps under consideration in case of a breach of peace. The Soviet Union has used this veto power more than 100 times since 1945. One of the few times that the Security Council was able to deal with a threat to peace was in 1950, when the North Koreans invaded South Korea. The United States called for a Council meeting; the Soviet Union, which was boycotting the Council at the time, was not present and so could not veto the Council vote to support South Korea. The United Nations was, thus, able to fight aggression with force.

Although the Soviet Union denounces the United Nations as an organization dominated by capitalists which supports imperialist rule in various parts of the world, the Union has been unwilling to resign from it or allow it to break down. The Soviets consider the United Nations an excellent forum from which to attack the Western states, the United States in particular. Since the United Nations has the attention of the whole world, the Soviets use it as a propaganda center. With the heads of states or their foreign ministers present at annual Assembly sessions or important Council meetings, Soviet diplomats are able to use pressures of various kinds to persuade them to support the Soviet Union on many issues.

The Soviets attempted to strengthen their control over the United Nations by demanding that the position of Secretary-

General be abolished, and that it be replaced by a three-man secretariat—one of whom would represent the Communist world, but this suggestion was not supported by the other United Nations members. When the Soviet Union fell behind in paying its dues and refused to pay its share of the special assessments for the maintenance of United Nations peace-keeping forces in the Congo and the Middle East, the United States, among others, bluntly threatened to deprive the Soviet Union of its vote in the Assembly, under the provisions of the Charter. The Soviets began to pay up under this pressure.

Whenever it suits their purposes, the Soviets support United Nations programs. For example, in 1956 they cooperated with the United States in bringing a halt to the combined Anglo-French-Israeli invasion of Egypt. The advantages to be gained by retaining membership in the United Nations are of primary consideration in Soviet relations with the world organization.

G. METHODS OF SOVIET EXPANSION

Let us summarize the most important methods by which the Soviets have expanded their territory and widened their control, directly or indirectly, throughout the world.

The acquisition of territory as a result of war victories brought many thousands of square miles of land and millions of people under Soviet control. Examples are the Baltic states, Bessarabia, parts of Finland, eastern Poland, the Kurile Islands and the southern half of Sakhalin Island in the Pacific Ocean.

The establishment of Soviet satellites in Eastern Europe was accomplished through a policy of terrorism, force, rigged elections and one-party rule. Examples are Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria. and Rumania.

Through its policy of peaceful coexistence, the Soviet Union, still intent upon achieving its ultimate goal of Communist world domination, attempts to persuade the West that it wants to avoid war, be a good neighbor, do business, and maintain social and cultural relations.

Meanwhile, the Soviet Union continues its efforts to undermine the prestige of the West and weaken its power while strengthening its own.

The Soviets signed a treaty to end atomic testing in 1963, but are delaying the negotiations of arrangements for supervision of atomic production.

The Soviets use economic policies of aid and technical assistance to selected countries with which the West is involved, such as helping India with supplies and technicians to build steel plants, or giving Egypt the technical assistance to build the Aswan dam after the United States withdrew its aid.

The Soviets use propaganda to support Communist parties in Western countries; distribute Soviet literature; beam shortwave broadcasts all over the world; indulge in name-calling, and repeat over and over again that American or Western policies are "imperialistic" and "aggressive."

The Soviets exert diplomatic pressures upon governments, threatening to withhold aid or arm a country's enemies unless certain advantages are offered to the Soviets. They use psychological threats involving promises of economic and political aid, and when a country yields they demand more.

They send Soviet or Communist-controlled "volunteers" to an independent nation, who then claim to be citizens of that country fighting for freedom, in an effort to overthrow that government. Such were the Indonesian "volunteers" who invaded Malaysia in 1965-1966. The Soviet Union threatens to aid the North Vietnam "forces of liberation" with such "volunteers."

QUESTIONS AND ACTIVITIES

MULTIPLE CHOICE TEST

In each of the following, you have three choices. Choose the only correct answer.

1. The Third International consisted of *(a)* Socialist, *(b)* Communist, *(c)* capitalist countries.

2. Immediately after they had seized control of Russia, the Bolsheviks *(a)* launched a military offensive against the Germans, *(b)* reached an agreement with the Japanese, *(c)* withdrew from World War I.
3. Because of the growth of Nazi power in Germany, the Soviet Union *(a)* joined the League of Nations, *(b)* agreed to pay off its pre-war debts, *(c)* invaded Manchuria, in 1931.
4. A non-aggression treaty was signed, in 1939, between the Soviet Union and *(a)* France, *(b)* Italy, *(c)* Germany.
5. The country that was to be divided by this treaty was *(a)* Poland, *(b)* Czechoslovakia, *(c)* Rumania.
6. The Soviet Union, in 1939, attacked *(a)* Bulgaria, *(b)* Finland, *(c)* Sweden.
7. The Baltic countries of Estonia, Latvia and *(a)* Norway, *(b)* Stettin, *(c)* Lithuania were forced to join the Soviet Union.
8. The turning point in World War II was the battle of *(a)* Moscow, *(b)* Stalingrad, *(c)* Leningrad.
9. During World War II, the United States *(a)* invaded the Soviet Union, *(b)* sent Lend-Lease aid to the Soviets, *(c)* refused to give help to the Soviet Union.
10. Stalin met with his Western allies during the war years at Moscow, Yalta and *(a)* Berlin, *(b)* Potsdam, *(c)* Paris.
11. As a result of World War II, the Soviet Union *(a)* gained much territory, *(b)* emerged stronger economically, *(c)* lost few people.
12. A nation that is under the control of the Soviet Union is called *(a)* an ally, *(b)* a friend, *(c)* a satellite.
13. All of the following are Communist countries except *(a)* Yugoslavia, *(b)* West Germany, *(c)* East Germany.
14. The head of the Yugoslav state is *(a)* Tito, *(b)* Thorez, *(c)* Bela Kun.
15. The leader of the Chinese Communists is *(a)* Chiang Kai-shek, *(b)* Mao Tse-tung, *(c)* Ho Chi Minh.
16. By the "Great Leap Forward" Communist China *(a)* attacked Formosa, *(b)* created agricultural communes, *(c)* followed the Soviet Union's lead in foreign policy.
17. The Soviet Union is a member of *(a)* N.A.T.O., *(b)* the U.N., *(c)* European Economic Community.
18. Berlin is located in *(a)* West Germany, *(b)* South Germany, *(c)* East Germany.
19. The Western states prevented Berlin from coming under Communist control by *(a)* the Berlin Airlift, *(b)* sending in troops to protect it, *(c)* recognizing it as an independent city.

20. The Soviet Union has *(a)* signed a treaty to end atomic testing, *(b)* settled its differences with Communist China, *(c)* ended its propaganda activities throughout the world.
21. Unlike the Napoleonic invasion of Russia, the Nazi invasion *(a)* captured Moscow, *(b)* was not hindered by Russian weather, *(c)* consisted only of their own troops.
22. The Soviet Union acquired from Japan in 1945 *(a)* the Kurile Islands, *(b)* Kamchatka Peninsula, *(c)* Vladivostok.
23. By their "scorched earth" policy, the Soviets *(a)* cooked their meals with wood, *(b)* provided power for their factories, *(c)* deliberately destroyed their homes and crops and reservoirs.
24. A revolt against Communist control, in 1956, took place in *(a)* Austria, *(b)* Hungary, *(c)* Yugoslavia.
25. The country that has not exploded an atomic bomb is *(a)* the Soviet Union, *(b)* Communist China, *(c)* West Germany.

KEY WORDS, NAMES AND PHRASES

Can you identify and explain each of the following names and phrases?

non-aggression treaty	national communism	"Titoism"
Comintern	"lend lease"	Janos Kadar
Cominform	second front	Mao Tse-tung
"popular front"	Berlin wall	people's republic
Bela Kun	iron curtain	deviation
"patriotic war"	satellite	"Great Leap Forward"
"scorched earth"	"rigged election"	reparations

COMPLETION TEST

Complete the following sentences, using the names or phrases listed below.

iron curtain	Mao Tse-tung	Comintern
Albania	"Titoism"	Potsdam
"Great Leap Forward"	Lend Lease	Berlin
reparations	Soviet Russia	

1. The United States provided the Soviet Union with $11 billion of ..... aid during World War II.
2. The Chinese Communist effort to hasten industrialization in their country is known as .....
3. The imaginary line separating Communist-dominated Europe

from the democratic nations is called the .....

.....

4. ....., Great Britain and the United States made up the Big Three at World War II international conferences.

5. At the ..... Conference of 1945 the Soviet Union agreed to a four-power division of post-war Germany.

6. A non-Soviet-dominated Communist state in Europe is .....

.....

7. ..... is the leader of the Chinese Communists.

8. ..... means payment by a defeated country for war damages.

9. The former capital of Germany, ..., is now divided by a strong wall separating the Communist from the non-Communist sectors.

10. The ..... was an international organization of world Communist parties under the control of the Soviet Union.

THINGS TO DO

1. Prepare a world map showing the areas which have come under *(a)* Soviet possession, and *(b)* Communist control, since 1939.
2. Using the *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature* for references, prepare a report tracing the relations between the Soviet Union and Communist China since 1945.
3. Investigate and report to the class on "The Hungarian Rebellion of 1956."
4. Debate: *Resolved*—The Chinese People's Republic Should be Admitted to the United Nations.
5. Maintain a bulletin board including pictures and news clippings under the title "Soviet Relations with Its Satellites."
6. Invite a German or Chinese student (a local university's International House should be contacted for this) to the class to describe events in his country since the end of World War II, particularly its relations with the Soviet Union.

THE SOVIET CHALLENGE TO THE UNITED STATES

A. AMERICAN POLICY TOWARD THE SOVIET UNION

Non-Recognition, 1917-1933. The overthrow of the Czarist government in March, 1917, was enthusiastically welcomed in the United States. American entrance into World War I was made easier, for in place of an autocratic government, a more democratic government became the ally of the American people in the war "to save the world for democracy." During the six months that this new, temporary government fought against Germany, the United States helped the Communists with large supplies of food and armaments.

The overthrow of the Kerensky cabinet and the establishment of Bolshevik rule changed the American attitude. The United States did not want Russia to withdraw from the war, as the Germans could then transfer their millions of soldiers to the French front, and vast quantities of military equipment would fall into German hands. American troops, joined by British and French soldiers, moved in to protect these supplies. American soldiers also appeared in eastern Siberia to prevent a possible Japanese attack there. Despite these efforts, the Soviets withdrew from the war and signed the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk with Germany, in 1918.

From 1917 to 1933, the American government did not recognize the Soviet Union for several reasons. Czarist Russia owed to American citizens $300 million, which the Communists said they would not repay because this debt had been made by a government other than theirs. The Comintern was supporting an American Communist Party whose purpose was to spread Communist ideas and overthrow the American government. However, the Americans helped the Soviet Union during the

serious famine years of 1921-1922 with food shipments for the starving people.

Recognition, 1933. President Franklin D. Roosevelt, in 1933, extended formal recognition to the Soviet Union; ambassadors were exchanged, and consular offices were opened up in both countries. The Soviets, in exchange, promised to stop Communist propaganda in the United States, to negotiate the Russian debts owed to this country, and to promote trade between the two countries.

None of these promises was ever kept. The American Communist Party, financed by the Comintern, continued its propaganda; the debts remained unpaid; and trade between the two countries continued to amount to less than $50 million a year. It should be pointed out that the Soviets had very little that we were willing to buy, and they did not have the capacity to buy much that we had to sell.

Cooperation, 1933-1947. The spread of Nazi power in Germany during 1935-1939 posed a threat to the Soviets as well as to the Western European countries. The Soviets cooperated with the United States and West European governments against their common opponent. This cooperation ended with the Nazi-Soviet pact, in 1939, the subsequent division of Poland between the two countries, and the Soviet attack on Finland. Relations between the United States and the Soviet Union reached a breaking point; the American government and people were angered over the two-faced Soviet policies.

Then Nazi Germany broke its pact and attacked the Soviet Union in June, 1941. The United States became involved in the war after Japan (an ally of Germany) attacked Pearl Harbor in December, 1941. The Soviet Union, thus, became a wartime ally. Under its Lend-Lease program, the United States sent the U.S.S.R. over $11 billion of military and non-military aid. The Allies coordinated military strategy and laid plans at high-level conferences held at Moscow, Yalta, and Potsdam for continued cooperation after the war, the formation of the United Nations, and the treatment of the defeated nations.

However, friendly relations between the Soviet Union and th United States began to break down even before the war ha ended. The Soviets insisted upon crippling reparations fro Germany and Western recognition of Soviet territorial gai from Poland, Finland, and Rumania. The Soviets refused t withdraw their troops from central Europe where they inte fered with various governments and formed satellite states i Rumania, Bulgaria and other countries. The United State thereupon adopted a policy called "containment."

Policy of Containment. This policy was originated by th American diplomat, George F. Kennan, who first wrote about i Its purpose is to stop any further Communist expansion b economic, military and diplomatic steps short of war, in bot Europe and Asia.

1. Economic Containment. Western Europe, after Wor War II, was on the verge of economic and political collaps Nazi occupation of France, Holland, Belgium, and the Scand navian countries had severely drained their agricultural an industrial production. These lands had been battlegrounds; man farms and factories had been destroyed, and millions of live had been lost. Very large Communist parties had developed i France and Italy. Under such desperate conditions, it was feare that these countries would turn Communist.

In June, 1947, the American Secretary of State, George C Marshall, proposed a plan whereby the United States offere financial and technical assistance to any government that devise a suitable program for rebuilding its economy. The *Marsha Plan,* as it was called, provided $12 billion in food and machiner over the next four years. This enabled some 16 European cou tries to recover from the effects of the war, and also saved the from a possible take-over by Communist parties. Continuin American economic aid programs over the next few yea helped the countries of Western Europe to prosper.

In 1947, Greece and Turkey were threatened by the Soviet who were still seeking warm water ports in areas from whic they had long been prohibited. Greece, with its Aegean Se

coastline, was threatened with civil war. From Turkey, with its port at Istanbul, the Soviets demanded unqualified rights of entrance to and exit from the Black Sea. President Truman was determined to help these countries resist possible Communist aggression. In what has become known as the *Truman Doctrine,* he extended some $400 million in aid to Greece and Turkey, declaring, ". . . it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures." With this aid, Turkey was able to refuse Soviet demands, and the Greek government put down the Communist rebels.

Almost two billion people live in Africa, South America, and Asia under conditions in which Communist propaganda can flourish. These people are poor, hungry, and badly housed; four out of five cannot read or write; they die young because medical and hospital facilities are inadequate. To help these peoples help themselves, and to keep them from turning to communism as a possible solution to their problems, the United States adopted, in 1949, what has been called the *Point Four Program* of technical assistance. Under this program, over 70 countries receive the aid of doctors, engineers, teachers, farming experts, technicians and business men to promote efficient methods in agriculture, industry, road building, medical care, and education. This program continues to this day under varying names, the latest being the Agency for International Development, at a cost of millions of dollars. Members of the Peace Corps, which was established in 1961, have been sent to many countries to meet demands for skilled manpower.

The United States encouraged Western European nations to unify their economies, and stimulated the creation of the Coal and Steel Community among France, Italy, West Germany, Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg. This became the European Economic Community, or "Common Market," in 1957, which provides for the gradual abolition of tariffs and the free exchange of goods among the member nations. The prosperity and well-being of the people of these countries lessens the possibility of Communist aggression in Europe.

In the Middle East, Soviet influence on the radical Arab nationalists was growing strong, especially after the Suez Crisis of 1956. In March, 1957, President Eisenhower declared that the independence and integrity of the Middle Eastern nations was "vital to the national interest and world peace." The *Eisenhower Doctrine* pledged economic and military aid to these nations in the Middle East "desiring such assistance in the development of their economic strength, and dedicated to the maintenance of national independence." The American Congress appropriated $200 million for this purpose.

Since 1945, the United States has spent over $100 billion in various aid programs throughout the world in an effort to help peoples improve their living and working conditions and indirectly strengthen them against the influence of Communist propaganda.

2. Military Containment. The presence of Soviet military power in East European countries and the Soviet blockade of Berlin, in 1948, which was defeated by the Berlin Airlift, led the United States and its allies to build up their military defenses against possible Soviet attack.

In 1949, ten countries of Europe plus the United States and Canada created the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The central provision of NATO is that "an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or North America would be considered an attack against them all." The United States provided a large armed force and billions of dollars worth of arms, planes and ships to build up NATO's military defenses. Since 1949, Greece, Turkey, and West Germany have joined NATO.

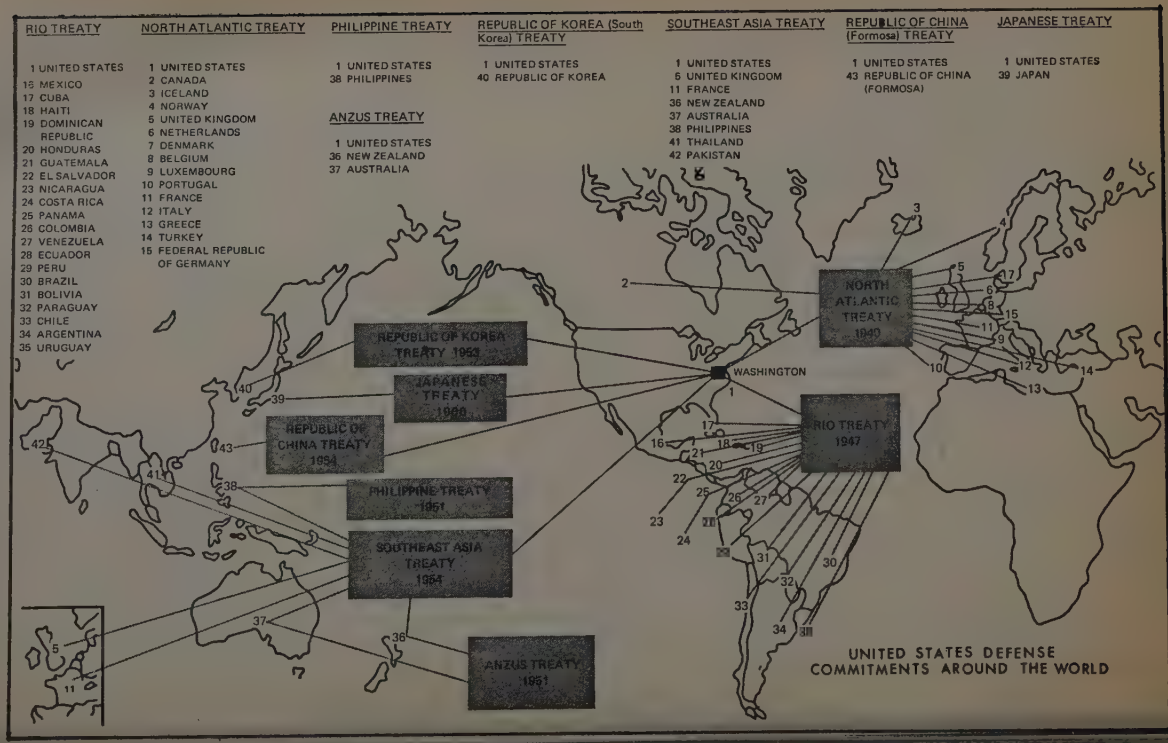
In addition to NATO, the United States has provided Yugoslavia with economic and military help to strengthen its anti-Russian stand, and has given much help to Spain where it has established military and naval bases to build up Western Europe's power.

In a counter move, the U.S.S.R. organized the Warsaw Pact, a military alliance among the Soviets and their satellites in central Europe.

Members of the Warsaw Pact.

3. Diplomatic Containment. Since the end of World War II, the United States, in its efforts to contain the Soviets, has signed mutual defense treaties with Japan, South Korea, Australia, New Zealand, and Nationalist China. In addition, the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) was formed in 1954, by eight countries—the United States, France, England, Australia, New Zealand, Thailand, Pakistan, and the Philippines. These members agree to consult with each other in case of aggression against any one of them. SEATO differs from NATO in that it has no unified standing forces ready to act in event of attack.

The CENTO Treaty Organization, an effort to strengthen anti-Communist movements in the Middle East, includes Iran, Pakistan, Turkey and Great Britain, and has been supported by the United States since its formation in 1959. The United States, though not a full member, is represented on all of its committees. Iran dropped out of it, but the others pledge help to each other in event of aggression in that part of the world.


RIO TREATY
1 UNITED STATES
15 MEXICO
17 CUBA
18 HAITI
19 DOMINICAN REPUBLIC
20 HONDURAS
21 GUATEMALA
22 EL SALVADOR
23 NICARAGUA
24 COSTA RICA
25 PANAMA
26 COLOMBIA
27 VENEZUELA
28 ECUADOR
29 PERU
30 BRAZIL
31 BOLIVIA
32 PARAGUAY
33 CHILE
34 ARGENTINA
35 URUGUAY
NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY
1 UNITED STATES
2 CANADA
3 ICELAND
4 NORWAY
5 UNITED KINGDOM
6 NETHERLANDS
7 DENMARK
8 BELGIUM
9 LUXEMBOURG
10 PORTUGAL
11 FRANCE
12 ITALY
13 GREECE
14 TURKEY
15 FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY
PHILIPPINE TREATY
1 UNITED STATES
38 PHILIPPINES
ANZUS TREATY
1 UNITED STATES
36 NEW ZEALAND
37 AUSTRALIA
REPUBLIC OF KOREA (South Korea) TREATY
1 UNITED STATES
40 REPUBLIC OF KOREA
SOUTHEAST ASIA TREATY
1 UNITED STATES
6 UNITED KINGDOM
11 FRANCE
36 NEW ZEALAND
37 AUSTRALIA
38 PHILIPPINES
41 THAILAND
42 PAKISTAN
REPUBLIC OF CHINA (Formosa) TREATY
1 UNITED STATES
43 REPUBLIC OF CHINA (FORMOSA)
JAPANESE TREATY
1 UNITED STATES
39 JAPAN
REPUBLIC OF KOREA TREATY 1953
JAPANESE TREATY 1960
REPUBLIC OF CHINA TREATY 1954
PHILIPPINE TREATY 1951
SOUTHEAST ASIA TREATY 1954
ANZUS TREATY 1951
NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY 1949
WASHINGTON
RIO TREATY 1947
UNITED STATES DEFENSE COMMITMENTS AROUND THE WORLD

In 1947, the United States and its Latin American neighbors signed the Rio Pact by which they agreed that armed attack on one would be considered an attack on all. In 1948, the Organization of American States (OAS) was formed to insure prompt, united action in defense of the Western Hemisphere.

By all these collective defense arrangements the United States' policy of containment has so far been successful in halting further Soviet territorial expansion.

B. THE COLD WAR

What is the cold war? Is it a contest between two antagonistic ideologies, namely, communism and capitalism, or is it a struggle for power between the Soviet Union and the United States? Some consider it a struggle "for the minds of men"—a propaganda effort to convince the peoples of the world that one system is better than the other. Others hold that the cold war is a fight for world supremacy by great powers in which ideology provides the appropriate scripture to be quoted in support of a desired course of action.

Whatever the definition, the cold war is a reality and has been with us since the end of World War II. Its arena has been transferred from the battlefield to the sports park, to the cultural auditorium, to banks, and factories, and to outer space. The competition goes on, and is a grim reality which President John F. Kennedy, in 1961, urged Americans to accept.

Soviet Tactics. The cold war has sometimes erupted into a "hot" or "fighting" war, as in Korea and Vietnam. In the main, however, the Soviets have confined their efforts to achieve their ultimate goal—world revolution and the creation of a Communist world—through non-military methods. These involve a wide variety of political, military, psychological, and economic policies.

1. Economic Aid. In the last 15 years, the Soviet Union has provided some $5 billion in economic assistance to selected countries. India was helped in the construction of a large steel

plant at Bhilai. Egypt received almost one billion dollars worth of technical assistance, loans, and materials to build the tremendous Aswan Dam on the Nile River, and is promised another billion to develop an industrial complex near Cairo. Cuba has been assisted with shipments of oil in return for sugar. Iran's trade with the Soviet Union is expanding considerably as a result of new trade treaties negotiated in 1968. Iraq, Afghanistan, Indonesia, Ghana and Syria have received loans, the help of technical advisors, and increased trade.

In return for economic favors, the Soviets expect the benefits of closer relations, support for their position at diplomatic meetings, and the installation of Soviet advisors in the country being helped—all of which usually leads to an expansion of Soviet influence.

2. Military Assistance. The Soviets provide much military help to selected countries. Egypt, Syria, and other Arab countries have received airplanes, submarines, guns, tanks, and even late-model missiles. This large quantity of military equipment costing hundreds of millions of dollars was a major factor in precipitating the Israeli-Arab war of June, 1967. The Soviets have replaced much of the equipment which was lost by the Arabs in this disastrous war.

North Vietnam has also received much military help from the Soviets; American soldiers have recovered Soviet equipment on the battlefields there. North Korea was given military assistance during its three-year war with United Nations forces. In 1962, American U-2 planes discovered Soviet missiles on Cuban soil. This dangerous situation could have erupted into a "hot" war. The strong stand of President Kennedy led Soviet Premier Khrushchev to agree to dismantle and remove the weapons from Cuba.

These examples indicate the Soviet Union's policy of arming strategically located countries and of strengthening the military forces of other countries to which it is closely related.

3. Cultural Rivalry. Soviet musicians and ballet dancers tour the United States and Western Europe, dazzling audiences with

their performances. American entertainers and musicians visit the Soviet Union. Yevgeny Yevtushenko and other Soviet poets come to the United States. This exchange of cultural attractions is aimed at showing off each country's talent and improving relations.

Soviet and American athletes engage in friendly competition. The Soviets are deadly serious about the Olympic games, for it is an area in which their victories can be offered as evidence of Communist superiority.

4. The Space Race. The Soviet accomplishments in the space age have great propaganda value. Each successful space shot has been trumpeted around the world. The peoples in Asia, in Africa, and in Latin America are informed of these feats. The superiority of the Soviet system is made evident, and the conclusion, of course, is that communism can do as much for other countries as it has done for the Soviet Union.

5. Verbal Propaganda. This "war of words" in newspapers, magazines, books and posters, and on the Voice of Radio Moscow, which is beamed to all parts of the world, is a steady stream of organized propaganda. Millions of books are printed in foreign languages in the Soviet Union every year and are sold in the Union and abroad. Periodicals and information sheets about the Soviet Union are distributed to publishers and broadcasters in many countries. Radio Moscow broadcasts programs in 50 languages to European and American nations. This torrent of words is one of the Soviets' strongest weapons in the cold war. Through this propaganda program, the victories of Soviet athletes, the signing of a trade treaty, the firing of another space shot, or the speeches of Soviet diplomats at the United Nations are made known to people around the world at a cost many times that spent on the Voice of America broadcasts.

C. THE THAW IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS SINCE 1953

When Stalin died in 1953, the United States and the Soviet Union were on a collision course. Both countries had taken

definite steps to further their basic goals—the Soviet Union to extend its influence throughout the world, and the United States to contain communism. Then a thaw in the cold war set in, not suddenly, but gradually, as shown in the following incidents:

1. The Korean War was settled in 1953.

2. The Soviet Union joined a number of specialized agencies in the United Nations, such as the World Health Organization and the Food and Agricultural Organization, as evidence of international good will.

3. A treaty was signed in 1955 that ended the Great Power occupation of Austria, and restored its independence.

4. A package deal was negotiated in the United Nations that ended a long-standing Soviet objection to the admission of new states. Sixteen new members were added in 1955, four of them Communist.

5. The iron curtain between East and West was opened to permit exchange arrangements. Thousands of Americans and Europeans—musicians, writers, scientists, engineers, businessmen, and athletes—were allowed to visit the Soviet Union, and a limited number of Russians visited the West.

6. Close telephone relations were established between Moscow and Washington. This "hot line" enables the leaders of the two countries to be in immediate contact with each other in event of a major crisis threatening peace. The "hot line" was used during the Cuban missile crisis of 1962.

7. The Soviet Union, the United States, and Great Britain signed a nuclear test ban treaty in 1963 which prohibits atomic tests in the atmosphere, underwater and in outer space. Almost every nation signed this treaty with the exception of France, Communist China and Cuba. This was an important step toward the goal of prohibiting nuclear war.

8. The Soviet Union negotiated important trade agreements, in 1967 with Italian and French automobile manufacturers to construct large automobile factories in the Soviet Union. The output of cars in the U.S.S.R. will increase to almost a million by 1975 at a cost of over $750 million. It is further evidence of growing trade relations between East and West.

9. In 1968, an anti-proliferation treaty, prohibiting the spread of nuclear weapons to nations that do not possess them, was agreed upon by the Soviet Union, the United States, and Great Britain. These countries committed themselves to take immediate action through the United Nations Security Council against a nuclear attack or threatened attack on any country that has renounced nuclear weapons.

10. A new consular treaty between the United States and the Soviet Union has been negotiated; consular offices will be opened in the principal cities of the two countries.

Many more instances of growing Soviet cooperation and the lessening of tensions between East and West could be cited. For example, there has been no major crisis over the status of Berlin since 1961. The United States and the U.S.S.R. worked closely together in the United Nations to arrange a cease-fire in 1965 in the Pakistan-India war.

Possible Reasons for the Thaw. What are the reasons for this post-Stalin change in policy? Americans are not certain of the answers; we only know that the thaw was initiated by the Kremlin after Stalin died. Maybe his rule of terror was inefficient and unproductive. Perhaps the new leaders feared that the people would ultimately revolt to end their misery and oppression if Stalin's course were not changed. Perhaps the Soviets realized that trade with the West was vital to the Union's industrial growth. Perhaps post-Stalin flexibility permitted the Soviet Union to pursue friendly relations with Afro-Asian states and increased Moscow's influence around the world.

Stalin's policies toward the satellite states had not been working well. Yugoslavia had made good its defection from the Soviet camp. Some Communist leaders in satellite states opposed Russia's plunder of their lands. After 1956, the spirit of *polycentrism*—national communism, under which each Communist state develops its own policies instead of waiting for orders from Moscow—began to spread. Communist parties in Western Europe and in America, faced with isolation and falling membership, began to criticize Kremlin policies, and drew up their

own. The dispute between Communist China and Communist Russia deeply undermined the monolithic unity of the Communist camp and Moscow's position of leadership. This extent of polycentrism was seen most vividly in the spring of 1968 when a meeting of Communist parties called by the Soviet Union was not only boycotted by Albania and China, but also threatened with a break-up when the Rumanian delegate walked out in objection to the domineering role being played by the Soviet Union.

The ultimate goals of communism remain the same although the post-Stalin policy has altered the nature of the cold war. The Kremlin announced a policy of peaceful coexistence or, as Khrushchev put it, "the repudiation of war as a means of solving controversial issues." Nuclear war would destroy the Soviet Union as well as the West, and as Khrushchev said, "to avert war" became a prime task.

Peaceful coexistence means an absence of war; it does not mean the forging of friendly relations. Khrushchev said, in 1963, "The policy of peaceful coexistence is . . . a form of intense economic, political, and ideological struggle between the proletariat and the aggressive imperialist forces in the world arena." Class conflict still remains one of the basic principles of Communist philosophy, and the use of force is not entirely abandoned. Proletarian revolutions and "wars of national liberation," which are not likely to involve the Soviet Union in a major war, are encouraged and supported. Thus, the Indonesian Communist Party received military and economic support in its unsuccessful efforts to take over the government in 1966. The North Vietnamese receive help from the Soviet Union, as do Cuba, Egypt, Syria, and other countries. "Some people . . . allege that by proclaiming the policy of peaceful coexistence we are calling on the revolutionary forces in the Communist parties of the capitalist countries to renounce the class struggle, the struggle to establish the rule of the working class, of the working people, to abandon the national liberation struggle of the peoples. This is not a clever invention; it is slander . . . The Soviet Union supports the just wars of peoples. . . ." These

were Khrushchev's words, in 1963, and they continue to be the sentiments of the present leaders of the Soviet Union.

Meanwhile the Soviets have been building up large supplies of the latest weapons, and their huge land army is a major military threat to the West. The Soviet Union has steadily increased its stockpile of atomic weapons until it is now equal in total destructive power to that of the United States. Its intercontinental missiles can be dropped almost anywhere in the world. Its navy is second only to that of the United States in size and weaponry, and its fleet of submarines—many of which are nuclear-powered—is the largest in the world. The Soviets have a modern naval force of cruisers, destroyers, missile frigates, destroyer escorts, helicopter carriers, and landing craft. Their merchant marine is growing fast; and their high-seas fishing fleet, the world's largest and most modern, is often used for spying.

In recent years, the Soviet fleet has appeared in the Mediterranean Sea, an area hitherto reserved for the West's use, in the Persian Gulf, and Soviet submarines patrol international waters off the Atlantic and Pacific coasts of the United States. Soviet sea power sustains two of the countries that are giving the United States trouble today. Russian freighters carry supplies to North Vietnam, and another bridge of Soviet ships carries one million dollars worth of supplies daily to sustain Castro's Cuba as the only Communist foothold in the Western Hemisphere.

Thus, while the Soviets maintain cultural and economic ties with the West, they continue to build up their military and atomic power, extend their propaganda activities, and support those national liberation wars which will be of benefit to them and do the most harm to their enemies.

D. PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE

Although there are many signs of improvement in the relations of the United States with the Soviet Union, they should not be taken as proof that the cold war is over. The prospects

are that the competition will continue for several decades. Americans must display patience and forbearance and expect big military budgets and foreign aid appropriations for years to come, while the "no peace, no war" situation persists.

The problem of disarmament is still not resolved, although some progress has been made on nuclear testing. The reunification of divided Germany must still be arranged. The peace talks initiated by President Johnson with the North Vietnamese will hopefully prevent further escalation of the "shooting war," with the ever-existing threat of intervention by China, by the Soviet Union, or by both. Laos and Cambodia continue to be "hot spots." The presence of Communist Cuba only 90 miles from the shores of the United States poses a possible threat to the United States and other countries in the Western Hemisphere.

We Americans must accept the realities of peaceful coexistence. What alternatives do we have? Should we surrender to the Communists, or will they yield to the West? Will either side dare risk a nuclear war? The answer to these questions is a firm and vigorous "no!"

Analysts think that the Soviet Union will be forced to turn to the West because of the redistribution of world power, the rapid rise of Communist China, the increased number of new states in Africa and Asia, and the spread of polycentrism in the Communist world. A common enemy, such as China, could bring the Soviets and the Americans more closely together.

International cooperation fostered by the United Nations in campaigns to eliminate illiteracy and to help children throughout the world brings nations together to work for a common objective, namely, a better world. Communist and capitalist, Soviet and American, can together seek this goal.

One of the strongest weapons in this cold war struggle is a well-educated public. Americans must understand the meaning of democracy in politics, work, and the equality of all in economic and educational opportunities. In short, each American should appreciate the challenge of these times and the moral responsibility of his country to attain peace and prosperity for itself and the people of the whole world.

QUESTIONS AND ACTIVITIES

MULTIPLE CHOICE TEST

In each of the following, you have three choices. Choose the only correct answer.

1. American recognition of the Soviet Union was extended by President *(a)* Herbert Hoover, *(b)* Franklin D. Roosevelt, *(c)* Harry S. Truman.
2. American policy toward Soviet Russia has been called *(a)* containment, *(b)* popular front, *(c)* liberation.
3. The United States provided much economic aid to post-war Europe under the *(a)* NATO plan, *(b) Marshall Plan, (c) Point Four Program.*
4. For years Soviet foreign policy has been aimed at acquiring a warm water port at *(a)* Athens, *(b)* Ankara, *(c)* Istanbul.
5. Greece and Turkey were helped to become stronger against Communist pressures by the *(a) Marshall Plan, (b) Truman Doctrine, (c)* CENTO Treaty.
6. West European countries have organized an economic union called the *(a)* Common Market, *(b)* Outer Seven, *(c)* Warsaw Pact.
7. There are *(a)* 5, *(b)* 20, *(c)* 15 members in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.
8. The Soviet-satellite military agreement is known as *(a)* mutual defense, *(b)* Warsaw Pact, *(c)* cold war.
9. The cold war is *(a)* a contest between differing ideologies, *(b)* a fight for world supremacy by great powers, *(c)* both of these.
10. The cold war involves *(a)* aggressive actions, *(b)* economic aid, *(c)* declarations of actual war.
11. The Nuclear Test Ban Treaty of 1963 *(a)* abolished all atomic tests in the atmosphere, *(b)* supervises atomic production, *(c)* has been signed by all atomic powers.
12. The growing spirit of independence from Soviet control by Communist countries is known as *(a)* cold war, *(b)* polycentrism, *(c)* anti-proliferation.
13. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization includes countries from *(a)* Europe, *(b)* Africa, *(c)* Latin America.
14. The CENTO Treaty includes *(a)* India, *(b)* Afghanistan, *(c)* Pakistan.
15. Soviet economic aid in large measure has been given to *(a)* Mexico, *(b)* India, *(c)* Nigeria.

16. The Soviet Union is a member of *(a)* NATO, *(b)* United Nations, *(c)* Comintern.
17. A "hot line" refers to *(a)* exciting news, *(b)* communication with the planets in outer space, *(c)* special telephone communication between Moscow and Washington.
18. The first American cosmonaut to circle the earth was *(a)* John Glenn, *(b)* Yuri Gagarin, *(c)* Pavel Popovich.
19. The largest submarine fleet in the world is owned by *(a)* the United States, *(b)* France, *(c)* the Soviet Union.
20. A Communist-controlled country in the Western Hemisphere is *(a)* Venezuela, *(b)* Cuba, *(c)* Haiti.
21. The ultimate goal of communism today is *(a)* world domination, *(b)* peaceful coexistence, *(c)* support for the United Nations.
22. American policy toward the Soviet Union should *(a)* seek continuing and broadening cooperation, *(b)* maintain and extend the policy of peaceful coexistence, *(c)* both of these.
23. As American students we should *(a)* "know our enemy," *(b)* support a policy of yielding to the Soviets, *(c)* ignore the Soviet Union.
24. It is believed by many American leaders that the cold war *(a)* will come to an end soon, *(b)* will go on for a long time, *(c)* will be over when Kosygin loses his position.
25. Soviet economic and military aid to other countries has been *(a)* as much as, *(b)* greater than, *(c)* less than American aid.

TRUE OR FALSE

Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Give reasons for your answers.

1. The Soviet Union has paid off pre-war debts to all the lending countries.
2. The Soviet Union has kept its promises to the United States.
3. The "hot line" has never been used.
4. Cold war techniques involve economic aid and cultural rivalry.
5. Khrushchev's policy of peaceful coexistence continued after his fall from power.
6. The American economic aid program has been larger and more diversified than the Russian aid program.
7. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization and Warsaw Pact have similar objectives.
8. The United States has signed many mutual defense treaties with countries in Asia.

9. Trade between the Soviet Union and Europe has increased considerably in the last ten years.
10. The U.S.S.R. continues to exert great influence and control over its satellite states in Europe and Asia.

KEY WORDS AND PHRASES

Can you explain or identify each of the following words and phrases?

containment	polycentrism	*Eisenhower Doctrine*
recognition	war debts	"hot line"
Truman Doctrine	CENTO	missile crisis
test ban	"Common Market"	Voice of Moscow
NATO	cold war	SEATO
mutual defense	Warsaw Pact	"wars of national liberation"
Point Four	*Marshall Plan*	

THINGS TO DO

1. On a large map of the world, indicate by colored pins the "danger spots" of the world today. Individual students should report to the class on each of these, telling why they are threats to peace.
2. Prepare a debate on the topic: *Resolved*—The United States program of containment has prevented the spread of Soviet power and influence in the world.
3. Committees should be appointed to investigate the types and amounts of aid given by the Soviet Union and the United States, and present this information to the class in a series of graphs.
4. A group of students should be appointed to investigate and report back to the class on "The Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962," including in the report *(a)* how the United States found out about the missiles, *(b)* the steps taken by President Kennedy to resolve the crisis, *(c)* the outcome of the crisis.
5. Show a filmstrip on the cold war (such as "Twenty Years of the Cold War" by the New York *Times* Filmstrips, or "The American in the Cold War," by the Society for Visual Education of Chicago) and discuss in class the ideas and events described.
6. Make a bulletin board display on "The Cold War: Rivalry in Many Fields."

GLOSSARY

anarchy—a political philosophy which advocates the abolition of any form of government. In modern times, it stands for violent disorders.

autonomous republic—a political unit having the right of self government.

Bolshevik—a term meaning "majority," applied to the group of the Social Democratic Labor Party which was temporarily in the majority when the Party split into two groups. The Bolsheviks, led by Lenin, favored immediate and violent overthrow of government, led by a small, secret, highly organized group.

bourgeoisie—the merchant middle class group that developed as a result of the growth of cities. This group became, through industrialization, the hated factory owners and employers of labor.

brainwashing—methods involving persuasion, psychological pressures, even torture, to force an individual to change his mind or opinions.

Brest-Litovsk—city where the harsh treaty was signed by the Bolsheviks with Germany in 1918, by which Russia withdrew from World War I.

capitalism—an economic system based on private property, production of goods for profit, and competition among producers.

Central Committee—the governing body of the Russian Communist Party, composed of 350 voting and non-voting members, with authority to make decisions for the Party during the intervals between All-Union Congress Party meetings.

Cheka—the secret police established in 1917 and existing under this name until 1922 when it was replaced by the G.P.U. Since then this powerful body has continued under various names, such as O.G.P.U., N.K.V.D., M.G.B., and most recently K.G.B. (Committee of State Security).

classless society—the ultimate goal of Communist principles in which all class differences will disappear and complete equality will exist.

cold war—non-military competition between Communist and Western states, involving economic, political and psychological tactics.

collective leadership—rule by a group, instead of by a single person, as happened in the years immediately after the downfall of Stalin and of Khrushchev.

collectivization—the Communist practice of combining farms into large units operated by the State.

Cominform—the Communist Information Bureau, established in 1947 for the spread of Communist propaganda throughout the world. Directed by and from Moscow, it was dissolved in 1959.

Comintern—the Communist International, organized in 1919 to spread Communist ideas throughout the world. It was dissolved in 1943.

"Communist Manifesto"—a small pamphlet, written by Marx and Engels and published in 1848 which established some of the basic ideas of communism.

communism—the system of social organization in which property is held "in common"; the economic, social and political philosophy, fathered by Karl Marx and expanded by Lenin, which calls for world revolution to achieve its goals of worker rule through the abolition of private property, the elimination of the profit motive and the creation of a classless society.

Constitutional Democratic Party—a moderate reform party in 1905, the largest single political party in the first Russian Duma; it favored a parliamentary system of government and the giving of land to the peasants, with compensation to its owners.

cult of personality—the hero worship and excessive praise of one man, as Stalin forced in his own behalf upon the Soviet people during his long rule.

Democratic Centralism—freedom of discussion among the Party membership until the leaders reach a decision which thereafter all must obey.

Dialectical Materialism—an essential part of Marx's philosophy that states that the material aspects of life (how man produces and exchanges goods, clothing, and shelter) determine man's laws, politics, morality and religion.

dictatorship of the proletariat—the transition period in Communist ideology which is to be set up after the overthrow of the

bourgeoisie and exist until the State has "withered away." During this time, the workers will be in control of the government. In practice, the State has grown more and more powerful and the dictatorship has become one, not of workers, but of a few men.

Duma—Russian term meaning "parliament." The first one was created in 1906, after the 1905 Revolution; the last, or fourth, was abolished by the Bolsheviks in 1917.

February Revolution—the first name given the revolution in 1917. (Actually it occurred in March, according to the Western calendar.) It was marked by the abdication of Czar Nicholas II and the establishment of a provisional, constitutional government.

five year plan—centralized economic planning introduced by Stalin in 1928 to industrialize the Soviet Union and increase agricultural production as rapidly as possible. Several such programs have been very successful.

Iron Curtain—a term first used by Winston Churchill in 1946 to refer to the imaginary line separating Communist dominated territory in central Europe from the West, through which Stalin would not permit passage of people or ideas.

"Izvestia"—the official Soviet government newspaper.

Komsomol—the Soviet youth organization, numbering many millions of young men and women between the ages of 15 and 24, which serves as an important means of control by the Party over this age group.

kulak—a relatively well-to-do peasant who benefited from Lenin's New Economic Policy (1921-1928) only to be liquidated by Stalin's forced collectivization program in the early 1930's.

kolkhoz—a Soviet collective farm, formed by combining many small farms into one large one, operated by farmers on a collective basis, with production quotas set by the State, and the surplus, if any, divided among peasants.

Libermanism—new economic policies being introduced gradually in the Soviet Union in recent years, in which are included capitalistic principles of economics, such as production costs, consumer demands and incentives for workers.

Menshevik—Russian word meaning "minority," for that part of the Social Democratic Labor Party of the early 1900's that

favored the gradual creation of a socialist state through peaceful means.

mir—the village community, consisting of the heads of families, responsible for the repayment of monies advanced by the Czarist government for the purchase of lands from the nobles for the peasants, when serfdom was abolished in 1861.

national-liberation wars—internal revolts against the government by Communist groups in a country in an effort to establish a Communist state. Supported by Moscow, they rely on guerrilla warfare and other indirect actions to weaken and overthrow the government.

New Economic Policy—a program introduced by Lenin in 1921 which introduced some elements of capitalist economics such as private enterprise and the private sale of surplus products in open markets in order to relieve the hunger and unrest of the people.

October Revolution—the second revolution in Russia in 1917 (it actually took place in November, according to the Western calendar) in which the Bolsheviks seized control of the government.

party line—the orders and policies announced by Party leaders which must be followed by all the members.

peaceful coexistence—the Soviet's present policy of economic and political competition with the West, but without war, as announced by Khrushchev.

people's democracy—the term used by Communists to describe the government of a country implying that the people control the government while actually it is under Communist control.

Politburo—the Political Bureau of the Communist Party, renamed the Presidium in 1952, the ruling group within the Party.

purge—removing a member from the rolls of the Communist Party (sometimes executing him) for "actions" against the country or the Party.

"Pravda"—the official newspaper of the Communist Party.

Presidium—see Politburo.

polycentrism—sometimes called "national communism," or "Titoism," it is the growing independence of Communist states from the dictates of the Soviet Union.

proletariat—the largest and most important class of people in any country consisting mainly of workers, but including peasants.

satellite country—a Communist country which is under the control of the Soviet Union, specifically the countries in Eastern Europe.

Social Democratic Party—a socialist party, organized in 1898, which split into the Bolshevik and Menshevik groups in 1903 on the question of tactics to create a socialist state.

Social Revolutionary Party—organized at the opening of the 20th century, it was basically a peasant party; it received the largest number of votes in the last free election held in Russia (1917) before it was suppressed by the Bolsheviks.

Soviet—the Russian word for "council," which consisted at first of committees of workers and soldiers who favored revolution, and later included peasants.

Soviet Socialism—a system under which practically all means of production and consumption are owned and operated by the State; some people are paid higher wages and receive more goods than others.

sovkhoz—a large state farm operated by the government; its workers receive fixed wages. Many are operated as experimental farms.

Stalinism—a form of Communist one-man rule based on terror, strong party control and forced industrialization and collectivization.

Supreme Soviet—the two-house legislature of the Soviet Union.

surplus value—a Marxist economic principle that the difference between the value of goods produced by the worker, and the wage he receives represents the profits made by the capitalist out of the worker's labor.

Titoism—see polycentrism.

utopia—an ideal classless society based on social and economic equality.

war communism—the effort of the Bolshevik government (1918-1921) to impose communism rapidly in the midst of war. The workers took over and operated the factories, the peasants appropriated the lands of the nobles, and the result was the breakdown of production. This serious crisis led Lenin to introduce his New Economic Policy.

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